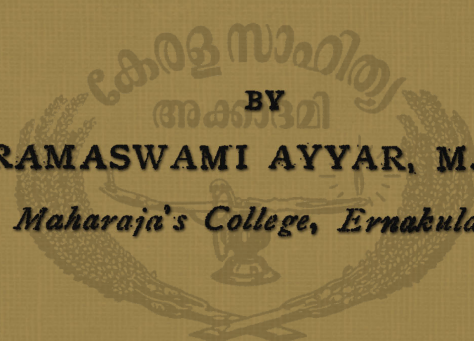


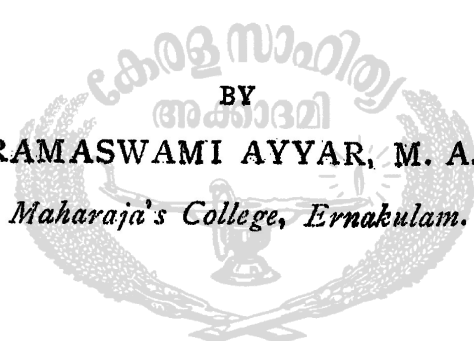
THE EVOLUTION
OF
MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY.

BY
L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR, M. A., B. L.,
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.



THE EVOLUTION
OF
MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY.

BY
L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR, M. A., B. L.,
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.



ERNAKULAM.
PRINTED AT THE COCHIN GOVERNMENT PRESS.
1936.

THE EVOLUTION
OF
MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY



THE EVOLUTION
OF
MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY.



BY
L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR, M. A., B. L.,
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

ERNAKULAM.
PRINTED AT THE COCHIN GOVERNMENT PRESS.
1936.

Published by
The Rama Varma Research Institute Committee,
Trichur.



CONTENTS

	Pages.
Preface	vii—ix
Detailed Contents	xi—xvii
Transliteration	xix
Introduction	1— 4
Chapter I—Nominal Inflexions	5— 31
„ II—Demonstratives	32— 34
„ III—Pronouns	35— 37
„ IV—Verbs	38—104
„ V—Miscellaneous Malayalam Formations	105—113
„ VI—The Language of some Malayalam classics	114—138
„ VII—Affiliations	139—148
Bibliography	149—152
Key to Abbreviations	153—155

P R E F A C E .

An attempt is made in this monograph to study the evolution of the morphology of Malayālam with the help of the data furnished by inscriptions and literary texts.

Though descriptive accounts of Malayālam are available in Gundert's "Grammar of the Mal. language" (published in 1868) and in A. R. Raja Raja Varma's Keraḷa Pāṇinīyam (2nd edition), a detailed historical survey (embodying illustrations from inscriptions and texts) of the evolution of the grammatical features of Mal. has so far remained a desideratum. Gundert, one of the pioneers in the study of Mal. grammar, did indeed occasionally advert in his work to the origin of some of the grammatical forms; but his handling of the historical aspects was necessarily inadequate and imperfect in view of the fact that many important classics (*e. g.* Uppunṇīśandeśam, Līlātilakam, the Niraṇam works and the campus) and several inscriptions were not available in his time. Quite a large number of historical aspects are envisaged in Keraḷa Pāṇinīyam (which was at once historical and analytical in its treatment); but the scope of that *magnum opus* was far too wide to admit of the possibility of the historical side being worked out in full on a chronological basis with reference to texts and inscriptions.

The influence of tradition has always been strong in Mal., and in the earlier stages the tempo of evolution was not the same in all areas; hence it sometimes happens that texts which chronologically belong to later periods, preserve forms mirroring earlier stages of evolution. Barring instances of this type, the gradual development of forms could be traced from period to period in literature and in inscriptions.

A historical survey, like the present one, cannot avoid discussing origins. I have had, therefore, to outline a number of

perspectives in the course of this essay; but in doing so, I have as far as possible allowed the facts to speak for themselves and yield the inferences. Chief among such new perspectives outlined here are those relating to the origin of the “qualificatory” \bar{e} [Ch. I, § 10], the unique Mal. tense with \bar{u} [Ch. IV, § 6] and the Mal. negatives embodying tense-affixes [Ch. IV, § 14].

I hope that Ch. VI which groups together under separate headings the specialities of the morphology of some of the prominent Mal. classics, and Ch. VII which treats about the question of affinities,—a question about which unfortunately hazy and unscientific notions still prevail,—will be found useful.

The importance of the comparative study of the Dravidian languages is increasingly recognized today; but the condition precedent to all comparative studies is that the individual speeches themselves should first be analysed both from the historical and the descriptive standpoints. I venture to hope that the present monograph will be useful not only to students of Malayālam but also to a wider circle of Indianists interested in comparative linguistic studies.

The documentation may appear to be somewhat forbiddingly elaborate; but since this work is the first of its kind, the detailed references to the sources will, I trust, not be found superfluous.

I know that definitive editions are lacking for some of the classical works in Malayālam; but I have taken care to embody in this essay only such illustrations as repeatedly crop up in different works or recur in different contexts in the course of the same work.

The printing of this book has by no means been an easy task. Some of the symbols [dental n'; alveolar t', d'] had to be improvised. The compositors were unused to the work of

handling diacritics, and the proof-sheets had to be corrected several times before the formes could be made ready for the machine. But the unfailing courtesy of the Superintendent of the Government Press, Mr. N. M. Parameswara Ayyar, considerably lightened my task of piloting the work through the Press, and I take this opportunity to thank him for the facilities that he placed at my disposal in this connection.

My thanks are also due to the Rama Varma Research Institute Committee for the kind readiness with which my work was accepted for publication.

Ernakulam,
25th April 1936. }

L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR.



CONTENTS

Pages.

INTRODUCTION.

I—4

The threefold object of this monograph.—

The importance and value of certain Mal. texts for the study of linguistic change.—

The periods:— I. Old Mal.— (a) Early Old Mal. (b) The pāṭṭu era (c) The early maṇiṭṭavāḷa period (d) The campu era.—

II. New Mal.— (a) Transitional New Mal. [Eḷuttasāṇ]. (b) Early New Mal. [Keraḷa Varma, Kōṭṭayattu, etc.] (c) Middle New Mal. [Kuṇṇan, Rāmapurattu, Uṇṇāyi, Kallēṇṇuḷaṇṇare, etc.] (d) Late New Mal. [Kōyittamburān, etc.]

CHAPTER I.

NOMINAL INFLEXIONS.

5—31

1. Bases and their peculiarities in Mal. [as contrasted with literary Tamil].— Incorporation of glides, both front and back.—Embodiment of the enunciative after cilluḷaḷ.—Forms assumed by vāy, kāy, pāy, nāy in Mal.

2. The “second” case.— Its origin.— Peculiarities of accusative concord.

3. The “third” case.—Mal. āl corresponds to Middle Tam. āl and not to Old Tam. ān.—Use of ōḍu for separation or viyogah in RC, Niraṇam works KG and even in Eḷ.

4. The “fourth” case.— The origin of Mal. -nu, -nnu. The early rise of the demarcation in Mal. of the so-called- nu datives and the -ku datives. The rules regulating this demarcation.

5. The “fifth” case.— The immediate relationship of Mal. -il-n'in'n'u to Middle Tam. il-n'inṇu, as distinct from Old Tam. -in.

The contractions in'n'-, -n'n'-, etc.—The “abnormal” use of the fifth case concord for “fearing”.

6. The genitive.— Origin of Mal.(n)d'e. Its immediate relationship to Early Middle Tam. uḍai which is absent as a genitive in Old Tam.—The stages of the development of Mal.(n)d'e.—Earliest textual illustrations in US.

7. The locative.— Mal. il corresponds directly to Middle Tam. il.—Mal. -kal, -(in)-kal derivable from kāl.

8. The vocative.—The origin and history of ullōyē, ullōvē, irippōvē.—The sambodhana eḍṭ in Old and New Mal.

9. Directive endings.— The datival directive of Dravidian. Its peculiarities in Mal.— The use of പെട്ട' pettu as a directive suffix. മേല്പൊട്ട് mēlpōṭṭu, 'പടിഞ്ഞാറോട്ട്' paḍinnārōṭṭu, കരോട്ട്, karōṭṭu etc.—Directives with നോക്കി n'ōkki.— ആയ്ക്കൊണ്ടു āykkonḍu and ആമ്മാർ āmmārū used directly.

10 The qualificatory ē of Mal. in (i) കാട്ടിലേ ആന kaṭṭilē āna, ഗൃഹത്തിങ്കലേ ഐശ്വര്യം gṛhattiṅgalē aiśvaryam; (ii) ദൂരത്തേ വീട്ടിൽ dūrattē viṭṭil; (iii) പിന്നേത്തേക്കോപ്പ് pinnēttē-k-kōppu; (iv) കോഴിക്കോട്ടേ സഭ koḷikkōṭṭē-s-sabha; (vi) നട്ടാരേ വീട്ടിൽ n'aṭṭārē viṭṭil.—The origin of these types.

11. The “loose” postpositions.— കുറിച്ച kuṛiccu, പറി paṭṭi, തൊട്ട് toṭṭu, ആയ āy, ആയ്ക്കൊണ്ടു āykkonḍu, ആയിട്ട് āyitṭu, പക്കൽ pakkal and പോക്കൽ pōkkal, ഇടു iḍa, ഉടേ uḍē, അണയത്തു aṇayattu, ചാരത്തു cārattu, എൽ [മേൽ mēl] -ē, etc.— Early Middle Tamil postpositions compared.

12. Comparisomal endings.— Older -il and kaṭṭil form parts of the heritage of Mal.— kāl, kaḷil, kāyil, kāṇa are developments in Mal.

13. Augments.— Peculiarities of Mal. augments.—Importance of the presence or absence of the augment-

in- for the early differentiation of the so-called Mal. -n(u) datives.—Other Mal. augments:—am-, the nasal, -att-, -itt-, -att.—Differences between Tamil and Mal. in the use of augments.

14. Plural formations.—The use of kaḷ for “rationals,” a feature of Early Middle Tam.—കന്നം -kkanmār of രാജാക്കന്നം rājakkannmār, etc. owes its -n- to analogy with instances like araśanmār, where n is normal.

മാർകൾ mārgaḷ as a plural ending—പാമ്പന്മാർ pāmbanmār, പരന്തന്മാർ parandanmār and വണ്ടന്മാർ vaṇḍanmār in Old Mal.—The history of the forms ആണുങ്ങൾ āṇuṇṇaḷ and പെണ്ണുങ്ങൾ peṇṇuṇṇaḷ beside ആങ്ങൾ āṇṇaḷ (a) and പെങ്ങൾ peṇṇaḷ.—പൊത്തന്മാർ pōttanṇaḷ in BhBh.—Epicene Plurals.—n'ālvar, aivar, eṇmar; magalar in Naiṣ. camp and in Eḷ.—The ending ക്കാർ, -kkār and -kkār.

CHAPTER II.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

32—34

Gundert's doubtful identification of Mal. ഉത്തു ūdu in instances like പറവുതും ചെയ്യു paravūdum ceydu or പറഞ്ഞു paraṇṇūdu with the Dravidian intermediate demonstrative \bar{u} .—

The chief differences between Mal. and Tam. in the use of the demonstratives:— Mal. uses them before qualifying relative participles, as in ഇക്കണ്ടുകുപത്തിൽ i-k-kaṇḍa rūpattil.—Mal. has an ungeminated -v- in Mal. അവിടെ aṇḍe, ഇവിടെ iṇḍe, ഇവണ്ണം ivanṇam, ഇവര ivāru, etc., beside Tam. a-vv-iḍam, etc.— Mal. lacked altogether the Tam. sandhi forms like av-yānai.— Free use in Mal. [both the literary and the colloquial dialects] of the lengthened demonstratives ā and ī, while these in Tamil are restricted to poetry according to Tolkāppiyam col.— iv-eḷlām.—The expletive ഇതു idu of Mal. appearing in poetry after tense-forms of all persons, genders and numbers.—palavum and paladum.

CHAPTER III.

PRONOUNS.

35—37

Most Mal. pronouns developed from forms corresponding to those of Middle Tamil.— A few distinctive forms.— The first personal forms.—n'in-, the inflexional "oblique", archaic in the west coast.—The history of അങ്ങൾ *ñaṇṇaḷ*, അങ്ങൾ *ñaṇṇaḷ* and എങ്ങൾ *eṇṇaḷ*.— The history of *tān* and *tām* in Mal.—The special uses of *tān* in Mal.

CHAPTER IV.

VERBS.

38—104

1. Bases.— Those unique in Mal. with no direct counterparts in Tamil.— Mal. verb-bases with structural modifications.—Bases with semantic variations.—Compound bases.— The history of കയ്യെടം — Unique verb-forms of *al*, *il*. — അരുത് *arudu* and its semantic developments in Mal.— Conjugational forms of *arudu*.—ഉൾ *uḷ* and its forms in Mal.—The varied uses of ഉണ്ടു *uṇḍu* in Mal.— The evolution of modern colloquial എത്തണ്ടു *ēdāṇḍu*, etc. from older *ēdānum-uṇḍu*, etc., attested in KG, BhBh and Eḷ.—വൽ *val*, ഒൽ *ol* and their forms in Old and New Mal.— Old Mal. verb-forms of *en*- 'to say' with the primary meaning.— Forms of *en*- in New Mal.—Specialities of the forms of *āg* in Mal.— Old Mal. bases not met with in New Mal.— Old Mal. transitive verbs ഉയർക്ക *uḃar-kk*-, താഴ്ക്ക *tāḷkk*-, പെടക്ക *peḍu-kk*-, വളക്ക *valar-kk*-, അമക്ക *amar-kk*-, നിരൈക്ക *n'irai-kk*-, ചുവത്തു *cuvatt*-, വിടക്ക *viḍu-kk*-.— Mal. causatives and their immediate affinities to Middle Tam.— Absence of *vi*-causatives in Old. Tam.

2. Personal endings for tense-forms.—Instances of the lack of personal endings in US, Līl., RC, Niraṇam works, KG and Eḷ.—Types of personal endings in US, Niraṇam works, KG and Eḷ.—General remarks regarding the gradual disappearance of personal endings in Mal.

3. The present tense.— Evolution of உம்° -un'n'- < -in'n' < -ind' < -g- ind' corresponding to the Early Middle Tam.-gind'.—gind', absent in Old Tam.—Mal. present tense ending definitely derived from a stage corresponding to Early Middle Tam.—ā-n'ind' of the Paṇikkars and of the earliest inscriptions only a Tamilism.

4. The past tense.—Special Mal. peculiarities.— வாண்° vāṇṇ-, வாண்° vāṇ-, etc.: $\text{v} < \text{ṇ} < \text{ṇd}$.—Different past stems for some bases.— ചൊന്ന° conn- in KG.—The graphic representations ചൊൻ° cond' and വൻ° vand' -due to "popular" etymology.—History of എഴുന്നൊ° -eḷun'eṭṭ- with reference to older എഴുന്നി° eḷun'in'n'- ["confusion" with എൻ° eṭṭ- of eḷkk-].—Types of past forms like മടങ്ങിയാൻ maḍaṇṇiyān and ചെല്ലിയൻ colliyēn, in BhBh, E].

5. The future tense.—With உம் .—Evolution of its use for all numbers and persons in Mal.—The future with personal endings.

6. The aorist with $\text{உ}^{\circ} \text{u}$ or (v)u.—Its structure.—Its syntactic functions.—Its deeprootedness in Mal.—How far the type is represented in modern Mal.—Origin of this type.—

7. The infinitive participle.—The older type.—Its history in Mal. traced from the earliest period down till today.—The "purpose" participle with -vān-, mān-, ppān.—A useful type which cropped up in Early Middle Tam.—Different syntactic significations in Mal. for this type.

8. The relative participles.—Peculiar forms like ഇട്ടനാപം iṭṭana śāpam in RC.—Poetic type തിങ്ങിന tiṅṅina, വന്നിട്ടിന van'n'iḍina never active in Mal. colloquial which has തിങ്ങിയ tiṅṅiya, etc.—Compounds of the rel. participles with other forms, serving particular syntactic functions.

9. Conditionals and concessives.—Mal. -gil.—Origin of -g-in -g-il.—ūl-um and its probable origin.— ആനം ānum,

എൻ. *ēnum*, എലും *ēlum*.—ആരം *ārān* sometimes used as a noun base.—Origin of വൻ *vān* in ആരവൻ *āruvān*, എരുവൻ *eruvān*—

10. Verbal nouns with *-ga, -kka*.—The extensive uses to which these are put in Mal.—How these are declined in the instrumental, the ¹locative, rarely in the accusative and more rarely still in the dative.

11. Imperatives.—Mere base.—Embodiment of *-kk* for *kārita* bases, particularly in New Mal.—The polite imperative derived from the older optative.—The pl. with *-vin, -ppin*.—The Tamilisms *kēļāy, kāñīr*, etc.—Future participial nouns used with an imperative force.—The benedictive with *āga*.—The forms with *-tṭē*.—The type of *ceydālum*—The permissive with *-ām*.—Imperatives of the type of കൊൾവു *koḷvū*.—Tamilisms of the type of വരുവോയക *varuvōyāga*.

12. Participial nouns.—The types വന്നൻ *van'n'on* and വന്നൻ *van'n'avan*.—Use of participials almost like finites in certain texts.

13. Appellatives.—Only third personal appellatives are common in Mal.—Old അടിയൻ *aḍiyēn* and Kannaṣṣān's Tamilism എല്ലാം *ellīrum*.—

എങ്ങാൻ *eñṇōn*, എങ്ങാൾ *eñṇōl*, അങ്ങനത്താൻ *añṇanat-tōn*, സിംഹത്താൻ *simhattān*, നാഗത്താൻ *nāgattān*, നട്ടാൻ *n'āṭṭār*, etc.

14. Negative verb-forms.—The old aoristic type with personal endings, frequent in Old Mal. works becomes less and less popular till at the time of E₁ only the type *ceyyā* which has in Mal. invaded the province of all persons and numbers is left in use.—Special Mal. type formed upon the type ചെയ്(യ്) *ceyyā* with tense-endings.—Classifications of the forms of this type.—The only forms popular to-day are the verbal noun and the representatives of the past.—Derivation of these negative forms.—Other Mal. negative formations, old and new.

CHAPTER V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

105—113

1. ഓളം ōlam and its evolution in Mal.
2. ഇൻറി ind'i, ഇൻറിയെ ind'i-y-ē, ഇനിയെ, in'n'iyē,
എന്നെ J.
3. മതി madi and മതിപോരും madipōrum.
4. etra, atra, itra.
5. History of ഒരിക്കൽ orikkal.
6. The conditional finite tense with-ēnē and ēnāyi-
run'n'u.
7. The particles e ē, o, ā in Mal.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF SOME MAL. CLASSICS. 114—138

1. Morphological peculiarities in Uṇṇun'ṛlisandeśam.
2. „ „ Niraṇam works
3. „ „ Campu Mal.
4. „ „ Kṛṣṇagātha.
5. „ „ Eḷuttaśśan.

CHAPTER VII.

AFFILIATIONS.

139—148

1. Mal. and Tam.
2. Mal. and Early Middle Tam.
3. A few unique features of Mal. morphology.
4. Affiliations.

TRANSLITERATION.

The system of notation popularised by the Royal Asiatic Society has been adopted for the transliteration of sounds in this book, with the following additions:—

n'—dental nasal [As the dental nasal in Mal. is a separate phoneme independent of the alveolar n, a separate symbol has to be adopted. The only satisfactory symbol that could be improvised in this Press is n']

t—breathed alveolar plosive.

d'—voiced alveolar plosive.

ɾ—the cerebral ɾ of Mal., slightly, trilled.

u—the unrounded, back, closed Tam. vowel appearing in final positions of words.

ə—the Mal. representative of Tam. u—a mixed, half-closed or half-open vowel.

[For the sake of convenience, I have used only the symbol u in this essay to represent these two last-mentioned sounds]

THE EVOLUTION
OF
MALAYĀLAM MORPHOLOGY

By

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M. A., B. L.

(*Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.*)

INTRODUCTION.

The object of the present paper is threefold :—

(a) to mark off the beginnings of the morphology of Mal. grammar from the parent stage, with reference to the earliest inscriptions and texts ;

(b) to determine the relationship of Mal. features to those of the parent speech and to distinguish the unique characteristics of Mal. morphology ;

(c) to trace the evolution of morphological features from period to period, and to classify the chief linguistic characteristics of the different periods.

I am concerned in this essay only with the beginnings and the evolution of Morphology. Neither Phonology nor Syntax falls directly within the scope of this essay except in so far as they are useful to illustrate or explain points of morphology. I have already dealt with some of the more important aspects of Phonology in my "Grammar in Līlātilakam" and in my "Primer of Mal. Phonology"; and the treatment of the development of Mal. syntax has to be reserved for a separate paper.

So far as the affinities of Mal. to other Dravidian languages are concerned, I may state at once the conclusion that has been irresistibly borne in on me by the facts set out in my essay:—

(i) Most of the morphological features are nearest related to those of Early Middle Tamil.

(ii) Many of them are derivable phonetically and historically from Early Middle Tamil.

(iii) A few unique features do exist in Mal.; and one or two of these may have been archaisms preserved in the west coast colloquial.

In my paper on the "Morphology of the Old Tamil Verb" I have indicated that there exists more or less a sharp linguistic cleavage between the language of the Śaṅgam works and that of the Tamil writers [the Vaiṣṇavite Aḷvars and the Saivite saints] from about the 5th century onwards. Śaṅgam Tamil may be conveniently described as Old Tamil, and the post-5th century Tamil as Middle Tamil. Tolkāppiyam Collaḍigāram embodies the rules of Old Tamil grammar, while the eleventh century Vīracōḷiyam and the thirteenth century Nannūl contemplate the particular usages of Middle Tamil also. It is with reference to this cleavage between Śaṅgam Tamil or Old Tamil on the one hand and, on the other, Early Middle Tamil [from about the 5th century to about the 10th century] that the features of Mal. morphology have been examined here; and I may say at once that such an examination reveals very clearly a remarkable closeness of affinity for Mal. to Early Middle Tamil. There are a few features of Mal. morphology which may be described as archaic, but even these are nearer related to Tamil than to any other Dravidian speech. Most features of Mal. morphology are either most nearly allied to, or derivable from, a stage of speech corresponding to Early Middle Tamil. For details, I would refer the reader to the section on "Affiliations of Mal." in Chapter VI below.

In composing this treatise, I have consulted all the chief available published west coast inscriptions and the important printed literary texts. Though the date of composition of Rāmacaritam is controversial, there is little doubt that it contains quite a large number of transitional forms of interest to the student of Mal. linguistics. The value of the works of the Niraṇam Paṇikkars need certainly not be underestimated merely because they have employed some Tamilisms [see chapter VI] in their works. While the usefulness, to the student of the Mal. language, of the early maṇipravālas, of Līlātīlakam and of Kṛṣṇa gātha would be generally recognized, the unique importance of the fifteenth or sixteenth century prose version of the Bhāgavatam

[the daśama skandha has been published in the Sṛī Mūlam granthāvali series, and portions of other skandhas in the Prācīna Grantha Mālā, edited by Prince Appan Tamburān] deserves special emphasis. It is true that in syntax and in vocabulary the translator or translators have been enormously influenced by Sanskrit, but the work also bristles with unique Old Mal. forms.

Not less valuable is the evidence of the Mal. portions of the campus, particularly of the Mal. gadyas some of which abound in "communal" colloquialisms of a more or less archaic character.

I mark off the following linguistic periods for Mal.

1. The Beginnings of Mal.—The exact limits are difficult to ascertain. The usual opinion that the 10th century marks the end of this epoch need not be absolute in view of the fact that Mal. may have developed and popularised its characteristic linguistic features even before the 10th century in the colloquials of the west coast. This development which (I may incidentally observe) need not have been uniform in all areas of Malabar, was perhaps given the sanction of "dignified" usage only from about the 9th or 10th century.

2. Old Mal.—The lower limit may conveniently be fixed as the 16th century. The following sub-divisions are more or less conspicuous.

(a) Early Old Mal. [till the 12th or the 13th century].—This was the period when the literary tradition was still dominantly subject to the sway of Tamil conventions. This is the period, *par excellence*, of the form described as pāṭṭu in Līl.

(b) Early Maṇipravāḷa period [till the end of 14th century], marked by the phenomenal influence of Sanskrit in all the various directions pointed out by Līl.

(c) The campus period [till the 16th century], in which the influence of Sanskrit continued to assert itself though in the sphere of language it was shorn of the bizarre Samskr̥tīkṛta-bhāṣā forms of the early maṇipravāḷa period,

Though I have indicated above the *dominant* characteristics of each of the sub-divisions, it should not be supposed that these are chronologically exclusive. For instance, it is very likely that the influence of Sanskrit and that of the Tamil literary conventions coexisted in Malabar from the earliest times. The works of the Niraṇam Paṇikkars who use many Tamilisms (presumably out of deference partly to a regional speech and partly to a literary tradition current at the time) were written in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, after the early maṇipravāla Kāvya Uṇṇunīlisandēsa. Again, Kṛṣṇa Gāthā and Ceṟuṣṣēri Bhāratam,—works free from any abnormal influence of either Sanskrit or Tamil,—appear to have been written in the fifteenth century—a period when some of the most important Mal. campu prabandhas with their Sanskritic flair and usages were also composed.

In marking off the periods, therefore, under the captions “Pāṭṭu period”, “Early Maṇipravāla period”, etc., what is contemplated is only the dominant literary influence of the time, as reflected in some of the chief productions.

3. New. Mal. [From the 16th century to the present day]

- (a) Transitional New Mal.: the period of Eḷuttassan.
- (b) Early New Mal.— Pūṇḍanam, Keraḷa Varma Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam, Kōṭṭayattu Tamburān.
[16th and 17th centuries]
- (c) Middle New Mal.— The period of Kuṇjan, Uṇṇāyi, Rāmapurattu and Kallēṅgulaṇṇare.
[18th century]
- (d) Late New Mal.— From Valia Kōyittamburān to the present day. [19th century and early 20th century]

CHAPTER I—NOMINAL INFLECTIONS.

1. BASES.

1. The constant embodiment of vocalic glides with noun bases in inflexional positions between the final vowels of the bases and the initial vowels of inflexions or of the augments has led to the semi-permanent incorporation of these glides in the bases when these bases are immediately followed by pauses, or by other words or postpositions having initial consonants.

(a) The front *y*, followed by the enunciative:—

തീയ്° tīyu [Bh Bh, 1, p. 76]

കയ്യ്° kayyu	}	[Bh Bh, 2, p. 31]
കയ്യുകൾ kayyugal		
beside കൈകൾ kaigal		

നീയ്° nīyyu [before a pause] Pr Gr Bh, p. 52

(b) The back *v*, followed by the enunciative:—

നടുവ്° naḍuvu [RC]; മാവ്° māvu, പൂവ്° pūvu [L III, 12, comm.], മാവു maṟuvu [L, III, 4, comm.] വടുവ്° vaḍuvu [B] പൂവുകൾ pūvugal [B]; the following adaptations from Skt:—രാഹുവ്° rāhuvu [KR, Kiṣk., 332]; വായുവ്° vāyuvu [KR., Sund.], ഗോവുകൾ gōvugal beside gōkkaḷ [B]; രാജാവ്° rājāvu, ഭർതാവ്° bharttāvu, കർതാവ്° karttāvu, etc.

Literary Tamil does not allow the incorporation of *y* and *v* in these contexts i. e. before pauses or consonants following.

In Mal. however, this has been expressly "sanctioned" by Līl. III, 4 and 12 comm.

The incorporation of these sounds is common in the texts and in the modern colloquial; but rāhuvu and vāyuvu cited above from KR do not have *v-u* to-day, though rājāvu, karttāvu are quite common.

In old compounds, even when the second constituent has an initial consonant, the glide and the enunciative do not appear:

kai kāryam, kai-k-koḷ-, pū-k-kottu, naḍu-k-kuttu, tī-k-kanal, mai-k-kaṇṇi.

2. Before pauses and before consonants following, monosyllabic noun bases with final *l*, *ḷ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *r* [for some of the rules guiding this feature, see my DS] optionally incorporate the enunciative *u* ⁽¹⁾ [*ə*] in Mal.

കണ്ണകൾ *Kaṇṇu-gaḷ*, കണ്ണനീർ *Kaṇṇu-nīr* beside കണ്ണിൾ *Kaṇṇiḷ*, കാലുകൾ, *Kālu-gaḷ* beside കാൽകൾ *Kāl-gaḷ* [KR, Sund., 7], ആൽ *āru*, പുല്ലു മുളയ്ക്കു *pullu muḷaccu* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 77]

Lil. III, 24 provides for this divergence of Mal. from literary Tamil. Colloquial Tamil, literary Telugu and Middle and Modern Kann. incorporate the enunciative always in such circumstances [See my DS].

It may be observed that in old word-compounds like പുൽ തൈലം *pul-t-tailam*, പോർക്കളം *pōr-k-kaḷam*, കണ്ണോവ് *kaṇ-ṇōvu*, കൽത്തളം *kaḷ-t-taḷam*, ആൽത്തറ *āl-t-tara*, കാൽ കൈ തോൾ *kāl kai tōḷ* [KR, Sund., 210], the absolute consonantal character of these cillugaḷ [ചില്ലുകൾ] is preserved.

3. Literary Tamil noun-bases *vāy*, *nāy*, *kāy*, *pāy* show in Mal. the following forms.—

(i) *vāy*, etc. in old Mal. as in Tam.

The old writers generally use these bases which are also heard to-day in regional colloquials of Malabar.

(ii) *vā*, *nā*, *kā*, and *pā*, with the final *y* dropped before initial consonants of words following :—

വാ വിട്ടു *vā viṭṭu* [Rāj.]; [KR, Kiṣk., 112]

നാ നരി *nā nārī* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 36]

നാ തൊട്ടമേ *nā toḍumō* [Rām camp., SP]

വാ കിറികൊന്നു *vā kiṛi-k-konṇu* [Eḷ Bh]

കാ കറികൾ *kā kaṛigaḷ* [cf., however, *kāy kanigaḷ* in K R, Sund., 89].

പാ മരം *pā maram*

(1) The incorporation of the enunciative is common in Tamil colloquial from a very early period, since constructions like നെല്ലപ്പൊൻ *neḷḷu* occur in Middle Tam. inscriptions [cf. SII, II, p. 253 ff.—10th century]. In Mal., this feature appears to have received literary recognition, though instances like കാൽ കൈ തോൾ [K R, Sund., 210] continued to exist.

It will be observed from the illustrations that the elision of the final-y is due here to the fact that the words concerned are so intimately associated with phrases or words following, as to become almost "compounded" with them.

In modern regional colloquials, pā, kā, and vā 'mouth' are often heard before consonants and pauses.

(iii) The forms appear as vāy-a, nāya, kāya and pāya in some modern colloquials invariably before pauses, often before initial consonants of other words following and occasionally showing -a [slightly modified to a "neutral" sound] in genitives like കായുടെ വില kāyaḍe vila, വായുടെ നാണം vāyaḍe nātṭam, പായുടെ മേലെ pāyaḍe mēle, and in other forms like വായലും vāyalum [Pr Gr Bh, p. 193], വായയ്ക്കു വായയ്ക്കുക vāya [VR, p. 198] വായ പൊത്തിച്ചിരിക്കാൻ vāya potticiricēār [Venmaṇi's Kucēlavr.]

When followed by initial vowels of other words following, or when used in inflexions other than the genitives, the -a is not heard: നായ് nāy-kku, പായിൽ pāy-il, കായ് kāy eḍukka etc. നായുടെ nāyaḍe is quite common, beside nāyind'e in one or two colloquial contexts viz., nāyind'e mōn which is a term of abuse, and nāyind'e vāl, still preserving the old augment.

2. THE ACCUSATIVE OR THE SECOND CASE.

1. The Mal. ending -e, corresponding to Tam. -ai, was evolved fairly early. The inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries show the second case ending -e beside -ai (as in Tamil) [GL, p. 9]

The process of evolution was: e < ə < front a < a west coast variant of Tamil ai.

The intermediate stage ə is attested by symbolic representation in Mss, like കണ്ണനപ്പകണ്ണു kannaṇe-p-pugaṇṇu (having praised Kṛṣṇa) [KG] and in വസ്തുവകകണ്ണു vastuṇe-k-konḍu [TAS, V, p. 59], കോനയകണ്ണു konayum-k-kaṇḍu [KR, Ar., 9]

2. Syntactic usages like രാജ്യത്തിനെ അധിവസിച്ചു rājyattine adhyavasiccū, met with in Bh Bh 1 are imitations of Skt. 'case' constructions. The commentary on Sūtra 11 of the second śilpa of Līl. expressly condemns such usages.

(1) തേരിനെ അധിവസിച്ചതേളളു [2, p. 70], ഇത്രപ്രസ്ഥത്തെ അധിവസിച്ചു [2, p. 111], ചേരകയെ അധിവസിക്കുന്ന കാലത്തു [p. 86].

3. The following bases govern the accusative:—*vēr-irikk-* അരചനെ വേറിരുന്ന് *araśane vērirunṇu* [RC, 826], ഉണ്ണിയിലും വേറിരുന്ന് *uṇṇunīlīm vērirunṇu* [US]; *vēr-id-as* in പ്രകൃതിയെ വേറിട്ടു *vērīṭṭu* [E₁ Rām]; *mun-n-id* as in ചോചിനെമുന്നിട്ടു *munniṭṭu*; and *pin-n-id* as in രാത്രിയും പിന്നിട്ടു *pinnīṭṭu*. [cf. *nērid-in* അവനെ നേരിട്ടു *avane nēriṭṭu*, which still exists to day.]

3. THE THIRD CASE.

1. ആൽ *āl*, expressing chiefly the ideas of agency and instrumentality, corresponds to Middle Tam. third case ending *āl* [N, 297].

Old Tam. has *ān*, envisaged in TC, 108.

2. കടു *cḍu* or കടു *ṭḍu* expresses the idea of sociality.

3. *ṭḍu* is used for "separation" also in early Mal. texts:—

ഉറവരോടു വേർപാടു *uttavarōḍu vērpāḍu* [RC, 694]

ഇടരോടു വേറായ *iḍarōḍu vēṛāy* [KR, Ar, 42].

നീരോടു വേറായ *nīrōḍu vēṛāya* [KG].

ഇന്ദ്രത്വം തന്നോടു വേറിട്ടപോം *indrattvam tannōḍu vēriṭṭu-pōm* [CBh, p. 290].

ചേതനയോടു പിരിഞ്ഞു *cētanayōḍu piriñṇu* [KG].

ശരീരത്തെപ്രാണനോടു വേർപെട്ടുകണ്ടു *śarīratte prāṇanōḍu vērpēṭṭadu kaṇḍu* [Pr Gr Bh, p. 259].

E₁ uses *ṭḍu* in connection with "separation", though the fifth case is also associated by him with this idea:—

കിൽബിഷത്തോടു വേർപെട്ടു *kilbiṣattōḍu vērpēṭṭu* [Rām—, p. 23].

The fifth case ending also appears in E₁, as in കർമ്മബന്ധത്തിൽ കൽതിന്നു വേർപെട്ടു *Karmabandhattingal kṛtinnu vērpēṭṭu* [E₁ Rām., p. 26].

The use of *ṭḍu* for "separation" is peculiar. This usage exists in Sanskrit also [cf. Whitney's Gr., p. 95]. TC does not envisage any such *mayakkam* for Tam.; but *oppaloppurai* referred to in Sūtra 74 as one of the uses of the third case may conceivably contemplate contexts indicating 'absence of union'.

4. THE FOURTH CASE.

-കു or കു-kku appears as the fourth case ending for all Mal. nominal bases other than those with final n or those embodying the augment -in- [see below under "Augments"]. This dative ending is a pan-Dravidian one.

നു nu, ന്നു nnu appearing as the fourth case ending of Mal. bases with final -n, and ഇനു inu or ഇന്നു innu associated with bases embodying the augment -in- are directly derived from older forms having final -ku or -kku.

Early Middle Tam. shows forms like വേങ്കടത്തനക്കു vēṅga-ḍattān-u-kku [Tiruvāymoḷi, p. 46], നായിനക്കു nāy-in-u-kku [HTS, p. 92], ജവനക്കു jvinukku, കോവനക്കു kō-v-in-u-kku, നവനക്കു nāvinukku [HTS, p. 58], ഒന്ദനക്കു ond'-in-u-kku [SII, III p. 99 ff.], in which the -u appearing before -kk is a Middle Tam "cāriyai". The Mal -nu or -nnu was derived from this type with the elision of final -kk. In RC and in the earliest west coast inscriptions, forms with -n-u-kk or -in-u-kk- alternate with those showing the developments -nu and -inu: virādanukkum [RC, 70], vēdanukku [ib., 76], tanayanukku [ib., 77]. The optional lengthening of the consonant sound -n in Mal. [cf. Līl., IV, 2, comm.] was perhaps a compensatory one for the elision of -kk.

The demarcation in Malayalam of the datives with -kku from those with -inu or -nu depends upon whether the bases incorporate the augment -in- in inflexional positions, when these bases are other than those with final "person"-denoting n (for which the datives have invariably -nu) and with final "person"-denoting l and r, for which -kku is invariable in the datives. The rules regarding the embodiment of the augment -in- for nominal bases appear to have become more or less consistent and uniform from about the period of the earliest literary texts. The inscriptions of the 10th century [cf. TAS, V, p. 7 and p. 32] show datives with -nu with such a fair degree of frequency that one can safely say that -nu must have already been current in the west coast colloquials about this time.

Generally uniform as the demarcation was [see below, for the rules], a few divergences exist between Old and New Mal. in respect of bases with final -l, -l and -r (other than the "person" denoting l and r). Dissyllabic bases with these sounds as finals

took on -kk for their datives (i. e. without the augment -in-), as in അല്ലെ^o adal-kku [RC, 428], വാതില്ലെ^o vādil-kku [CAR, II, p. 16], വെയ്യില്ലെ^o veyyil-kku [KR, Ār., 39]. Down till the Middle New Mal. period, forms like വിരല്ലെ^o viral-kku [OT, p. 438], കോവിലല്ലെ^o kōvil-kku [OT, p. 551] appear to have been current. In the modern colloquials, however, viral-innu, veyyil-innu, etc. appear to be more frequent except in old forms with special meanings like അന്ന മുതല്ലെ^o añṇu mudal-kku [contrast മുതലിന്ന^o mudalinnu 'for the capital' or 'for the wealth'].

The datives of monosyllabic bases with long vowels and with the above finals -l, -ḷ and r showed both -innu and -kku in Old Mal: വേലിന്ന^o vēlinnu [KG], മാലിന്ന^o mālinnu [ib.], പാരിന്ന^o pārinu [ib.], പോക്കു^o pōrkku beside പോരിന്ന^o pōrinu [E] Bh], കാല്ക^o kālkku [Bhāg.], കോളിന്ന^o kōḷinu [KR, Ār., 98]. Apparently even in Old Mal. the augment -in- had begun to be frequently associated with these bases. In New Mal., and particularly in the modern colloquial, the ending -inu or innu has become quite common (except perhaps in some regional dialects), though old expressions like എത്രപേക്കു^o ēṭṭṭpēkkku 'to how many persons' [contrast പേരിന്ന^o pēri-innu 'for the name'] and മേല്ക്ക^o mēḷkkku still continue to have -kk.

5. THE FIFTH CASE.

1. The Mal. termination il-nīṇṇu compounded of il and nīṇṇu [the past conj. participle of nīl 'to stand'] corresponds to the Early Middle Tam. fifth case ending il-nīṇṇu-[V, Vēṇṇ, 7]. Old Tamil had only -in to express the fifth case meanings [TC, 77]; il-nīṇṇu appears only in Early Middle Tamil texts.

2. Mal. il-nīṇṇu appears contracted as—inṇu,—īṇṇu and even as nṇu: വയറാന്ന^o vayattīṇṇu [Kalyāṇ., gadya 5]; മേലിന്ന^o melīṇṇu [Bh Bh, 1, p. 27], മനസ്സന്ന^o manaikkannu [KU], വിട്ടിയന്ന^o vittiyannu [TAS, V, p. 59, l. 3], അവിടുന്ന^o avidunṇu.

3. The association of the fifth case forms with ideas denoting 'fear', as in the following, does not appear to be strictly warranted by Dravidian syntactic rules; 'such constructions are expressly prohibited by the commentary on L, II, II

¹cf. the condemnation by the same commentary of usages like ഊമത്തെ ആവസിക്കുന്നു [For അദ്ധ്യവസിച്ചു on p. 7, l. 32, read അധിവസിച്ചു.]

as foreign to Dravidian:—

ജവരത്തിങ്കൽനിന്നുള്ളഭയം jwarattiṅgalnīnṇuḷḷa bhayam [Bh Bh, 2, p. 94] ;

മലയ്ക്കുമനാക്കു മരണത്തിങ്കൽനിന്നു ഭയം ഉത്തമനാക്കു അപമാനത്തിൽനിന്നു maraṇattiṅgalnīnṇu bhayam [E] Bh, p. 262] ;

ദുർമ്മതിപ്രഭുക്കളിൽ നിന്നുള്ള ഭയംകൊണ്ടു dūrmadi prabhukkaḷil nīnṇuḷḷa bhayam koṇḍu [Viṣṇ., p. 74] ;

തൂക്കയ്യിലുള്ളൊരു ചക്രത്തിൽനിന്നു ഭയപ്പെട്ടു cakṛattiṅgalnīnṇu bhaya-p-petṭu [Na]. Kīḷip., p. 127 of Inter Sel.]

The Old Tam. grammar TC, 72, does provide for the use of the fifth case with añjal 'fearing', apart from the normal use of the second case; but the question whether this association of the fifth case with 'fear' may not have been due to the influence of Skt. requires to be investigated.

6. THE SIXTH CASE.

1. uḍe is the Mal. sixth case ending for all bases whose datives have—kk, while—d'e [<-n-(u)ḍe or <-in-(u)ḍe] is regular for those bases whose datives have -nu, -innu, - or inu.

uḍe corresponds to the Early Middle Tamil ending uḍai mentioned in V, Vēṭṭ., 7. For the change of—ai to—e, cf. Malayāḷam vare <varai; iḍe < iḍai; paṇḍe > paṇḍai, etc. Old Tamil uḍai or uḍai-y-a had no sixth case meaning, but it was employed [cf. TC, 220] merely as a kuṛippu vinai, as in nīn-n-uḍaittu 'is in possession of you' [Puraṇānūru, verse 58]; cf. Malayāḷam ചലയ്ക്കുമനാക്കു മരണമൻ guṇam-uḍa [K R, Bāl., 12] where uḍa may be regarded (according to Tamil rules) as a kuṛippuvinaḷ peyareccam.

It is in Early Middle Tamil that uḍai and uḍai-y-a appear with a sixth case force. Malayāḷam uḍe is directly related to this ending, and nd'e is the resultant of the sandhi (in Malayāḷam) of -n or -in and (u)ḍe.

The earliest inscriptions of the west coast show only uḍe, uḍa, -iḍe or ḍe. The variants -iḍe and -ḍe reveal the weakening

(1) അവക്കുടയ കരംക്കുകൾ [K Bhag, p. 114] ഇവക്കുടയ മരണമം [ib., p. 74], തണ്ടു തണ്ടുക്കുട [ib., p. 68] show the sixth case ending used after the dative endings. "Vulgar" colloquials show this usage even to-day.

of u (of uḍe) in the unaccented position,—a weakening which brought about the sandhi change of -n+ḍ=nd' in those bases which either had final -n or which embodied the inflexional augment -in:—വരിയതിടെ vāriyan-iḍe [TAS, V, p. 82, l. 27—12th c.] അവരിടെ avar-iḍaya [ib., IV, p. 46 ff.—12th c.]

L, I, 1 and II, 11 [commentaries] mention the sound, and I have found four instances of this ending in US:—ciṭṭappand'e [US, II, 15]; tēnmāvind'e [ib., II, 9]; puṇyattind'e [ib. I, 16] mulattottind'e [ib., I, 119]. The earliest available west coast inscriptions of the 9th to the 12th centuries do not, so far as I can see, contain instances of this ending, with the alveolar d'; but it is possible that it had become fairly common in the popular speech from a much earlier period than the 13th century.

2. It is worthy of mention here that a sixth case relationship is brought out by the use of -in in instances like pon-māḍatt-in-nīlāl [US, II, 9] or ēṇatt-in-paidal [K G, Kṛṣṇ., l. 525]; this -in -occurs in other compounds also: -vaḍakk-in-kūru, [US, II, 23]; ponnuṅḡḍam < pon-n-in-kuḍam [Bh Bh 1, p. 19].

7. THE SEVENTH CASE.

1. il as a seventh case ending corresponds to Early Middle Tamil il mentioned in V, Vēṭṭ., 7, and in N, 302. Old Tamil had no il [cf. TC, 81 and 82] as a locative ending.

2. kal or-in-kal [in which latter-in-is the augment] is derivable from the Tamil postposition kāl [TC, 82 and N, 302]. Very early west coast inscriptions show kāl: കോയിൽക്കാൽ kōyil-k-kāl [TAS, IV, p. 15—10th c.], ചിറവത്തിൽക്കാൽ vāḍil-k-kāl [TAS, II, p. 81—10th c.]. kōyilkkāl later become kōyilkkal and koyikkal [cf. TAS, VII, p. 92], and vāḍil-kkāl later became vāḍil-k-kal or vāḍukkal [cf. kōvilagattum-vāḍukkal of KU].

3. attu with a locative force as in തെരുവത്തു" teruvattu [RC, 69], തിരുവത്തു" nīlāvattu [Bh Bh] appears not only in bases with final-am normally incorporating-att but also in others like teruvu, nīlā, etc. The use of attu is expressly sanctioned by TE for bases like veyil [TE, 378], maḷai [288], iruḷ [403] viṇ [306], paṇi 'cold season' [242], vaḷi [243]. The use of attu with a locative force was quite common in Early Middle Tamil. Malayāḷam inherited this feature and has preserved it wholly

down till to-day, while modern colloquial Tamil has ceased to have it.

4. Instances like കോഴിക്കോട്ടു ചെന്നു, കരയ്ക്കായ് karayāṭṭu pōy show the so-called "gemination" of -ṭ- and -r- to convey a seventh case meaning. This "gemination" was primarily due to an ancient sandhi change arising from the meeting of ṭ and of r [see my HAP] with the augment-(a)tt-appearing, as has already been shown, with a seventh case force in nīlāvattu, etc.

5. Forms like തിരമെ അടിനാൻ tīramē [KG, Hl., l. 40], അകമെ agamē, പരമെ puramē, വഴിയെ vaḷiyē evidence an ē with a seventh case force. Here ē [also written sometimes short e] is primarily connected with the "emphatic" particle ē associated with a locative force in words like മുമ്പെ mumbe, പിമ്പെ pimbē, മേലെ mēlē [cf. chap. V § 7]. There may also have been some influence exerted by Skt. locatives like dūre, maddhye.

8. THE EIGHTH CASE.

1. Except the vocative types makkaḷ (of makkaḷ) and vāyilāy (of vāyilān) in which the vowels before the final consonants are altered or lengthened, all other vocative types of Tamil have their counterparts in Malayāḷam.

2. The history of the sambodhana ending- uḷḷōvē appearing so frequently in late Old Malayāḷam texts and occasionally in Early New Malayāḷam deserves to be traced here.

The earlier forms are-uḷḷōnē and-uḷḷōyē:

മാവയ ഉൾക്കും മാളളോനേ māṭṭuḷḷōnē [KG, Ulūkh.].

കണ്മായമളളോനേ kaṇmāyamuḷḷōnē [ib., Hēm.].

മെയ്യകളളോനേ meyyaḷag-uḷḷōnē [Kottār. Āṭṭ., p. 114].

According to a Tamil rule envisaged in N, 307, the vocative of uḷḷōn may appear as uḷḷōy. This principle accounts for Malayalam uḷḷōy-ē (in which ē is a vocative strengthener); uḷḷōyē appears in RC, K Bhāg., CBh:—അരക്കർകുചത്തിൻ കായായുളളോയേ karayāy-uḷḷōyē [RC, 646]; സൗമ്യനതായുളളോയേ saumyanadāy-uḷḷōyē [KBhāg., p. 201]; സ്വാമിയായുളളോയേ svāmiyāy-uḷḷōyē [CBh, p. 332]; വിരനായുളളോയേ vīranāy-uḷḷōyē [CBh, p. 311].

The final-y of uḷḷōy(ē) appears to have been dropped [cf. the dropping of y in second personal mariccā, varitā, ceyvā in

early Old Malayalam texts], and the dorsal glide *v* requisitioned after *ṛ*, with the result that *uḷṛ* -*v* -*ē* came into existence: *ഓഗ്ഗാലിനിയായുളളവേ* [BhBh], *ഈന്താവായുളളവേ* [E] Bh], *പരമ്പരയുനായിരിപ്പവേ* [Pr. Gr. Bh, p. 213]. As these instances show, *uḷṛvē* was employed originally only in connection with singulars, but later when the form became a *cliche* it was used in connection with plurals also, as in *പവനതുല്യവേതികളായുളളവേ* *pavanatulyavēgikaḷāy-uḷṛvē* [VR, p. 83]

3. The *sambodhana eḍ* of Malayalam appears in connection with masculines and feminines, singulars and plurals, as a term of "familiarity" without any association of "inferiority" or "contempt", which *eḍā* (for masculines) and *eḍī* (for feminines) have in Tamil and in Malayalam. This *eḍ* does not occur, so far as I know, in Tamil. I have not come across this *eḍ* in Malayalam texts before the period of the campus and of Bh Bh.

എടോ കേകിലബാലികേ eḍ kōkilabālikē [Rām. camp.

Sugr., 107]

എടോ അച്യുതാ eḍ acyutā [Bh Bh, 1, p. 119]

എടോ വിപ്രപതിമരേ eḍ viprapatnimārē [ib., 1, p. 89]

എടോ കൈകേയി eḍ kaikēyi [E] Bh]

എടോ ദേവകളേ eḍ dēvagalē [Pr Gr Bh, p. 372]

മന്ദസന്നിധിയിൽ അണപ്പിനെടോ aṇappin-eḍ [OT, p. 442

-addressed by Ravana to the women-guards]

വെത്തിലമൃതാട്ടുടോ കുഞ്ഞിക്കനി [VPm, p. 172]

In modern colloquial Malayalam., it is rarely used for plurals. Further, in connection with feminines its use is restricted to regional dialects to-day.

9. THE DIRECTIVES

The dative ending -*k*-(*-kk*) is associated with a directive force in several Dravidian speeches. Tamil *viṭṭ-iṛ-ku* 'to the house', *a-vv-iḍ-att-iṛ-ku* 'to that spot' illustrate this use. The terms for the cardinal directions, viz. *vaḍakku*, *kiḷakku*, *mēṛku*, contain this directive ending semi-permanently embodied in them.

This directive ending exists in Mal., as in several other Dravidian speeches.

1. In the earliest texts, forms like the following, normally evolved from older ones with-in-u-kku occur:— ഇവിടത്തിന്നു° iviḍattinnu [KR, Kiṣk., 59], അവിടത്തിന്നു° aviḍattinnu [ib., 295], ദിക്കിന്നുപോയാർ dikkinu [KR, Sund., 134]. This -innu or -inu occurs in the campus, in KG and even in E1 [e. g. തെക്കുദിക്കിന്നു യാത്ര dikkinu in Rām. Camp., Aṅg; കാലപുരത്തിന്നു പോകാം Kāla-purattinnu in E1 Rām., p. 125] Today, this directive-innu or -inu is heard in Travancore colloquials, as in വയ്ക്കത്തിന്നു° പോകണം vaikkattinnu, എറണാകുളത്തിന്നു° eṛaṇḍakuḷattinnu, i.e. in those contexts where the dative ending is innu or inu.

From about the sixteenth century, however, forms like വിട്ടിലേയ്ക്കു° viṭṭilēkku, സ്ഥലത്തേയ്ക്കു° sthalattēkku, ദിക്കിലേയ്ക്കു° dikkilēkku, അതിലേയ്ക്കു° adilēkku also begin to appear frequently. This type is not met with in the works of the Paṇikkars, in US, in L1 or even in KG, in all of which the corresponding forms show -innu or -inu if and when they occur at all. RC has ഇവിടേയ്ക്കു° iviḍēkku [87] but in this text the type is rather rare. The type is abundantly represented in Bh Bh and also met with in some of the later campus and in E1. Today, the ending -ēkk is most common as a directive ending. It is constituted of ē [arising originally from an iṭṭasai ē as in adilē, or from tēṭṭam ē used in connection with 'directions' or from the lengthening of e of forms like aṭṭe < a-v-v iḍai], and the directive-kk.

2. The "conjunctive" past participle പെട്ടു° peṭṭu [of peḍ-] is suffixed in Malayalam from the earliest times in a number of contexts to denote the "directival" idea; മേലുട്ടു° mēḷpeṭṭu; കീഴുട്ടു° kīḷpeṭṭu [KG]; പുറത്തോട്ടു° puṛatt-ōṭṭu [RC, 134] < puṛattupeṭṭu; അങ്ങോട്ടു° aṅṅōṭṭu [E1 Bh]; പടിഞ്ഞാട്ടു° paḍiṇṇāṭṭu [KU] < paḍiṇṇāṭ-ōṭṭu < paḍiṇṇāṭu-peṭṭu; കരോട്ടു° karōṭṭu [modern.].

Forms like പുറത്തുട്ടു° puṛattūṭṭu [RC, 140] and അകത്തുട്ടു° agattūṭṭu [Bh Bh 1, p. 18] are semantically the same as puṛattōṭṭu and agattōṭṭu, though structurally [perhaps owing to "contamination" with forms like agattūḍe and pūṅḡāvil-ūḍe which are locatives with the postposition ūḍe meaning 'along' 'through'] they show -ū-.

The original sense of പെട്ടു° peṭṭu disappeared very early in these contexts, and the development -ōṭṭu having been

associated from an early time with the directive idea came to be used directly in forms like *aññōṭṭu*, *paḍiññāṇōṭṭu* and *karōṭṭu*, and even in *kīḷpōṭṭ-ē-kku* [Eḷ Cint., p. 28]

3. *nōkki*, the conjunctive past participle of *nōkk-* 'to observe', exists in old *aññōkki* 'in that direction,' പിന്നോക്കി *pinnōkki* [Bhāg Daś., p. 273], പോരക നോക്കിനടന്നു *dwāraka nōkki naḍanṇu* [KG, Kucēl. l. 71], അങ്ങനോക്കി *aññu nōkki* [ib., Saubh., l. 728], നാടുനോക്കി പോകുന്നെൻ [ib., Sant., l. 34]

4. ആയ്ക്കോണ്ടു *āykkonḍu* [associated with the dative; see § 11] is used with a directive force in the earlier texts:—

തെരിലങ്ങായ്ക്കോണ്ടുപാഞ്ഞു *tērilanñāykkonḍu pāññu* [KG, Rugm., l. 985.]

സേകാരത്തിനായ്ക്കോണ്ടു ഗമിച്ചുക *danḍakārattinn-āykkonḍu* [Eḷ Rām., p. 72], വനത്തിനായ്ക്കോണ്ടെഴുന്നള്ളുകിൽ *vanattinn-āykkonḍ* [Rām., p. 45].

5. ആമ്മാ *āmmāru* demotes a "directive" meaning in RC, KG and Eḷ:—*വാതിലുലാമ്മാ* 'പോയ' *vadilkkalāmmāru* [RC, 134], രാജ്യത്തിലാമ്മാ *raḷayttilāmmāru* [KG, Vrkās.], മുറത്തിലാമ്മാ *muṭṭattilāmmāru* [ib., Kṛṣṇōlp., l. 713].

അന്തപുരത്തിലാമ്മാറെഴുന്നള്ളണം *antahpurattil-āmmāru* [Eḷ. Rām. p. 128], അയോദ്ധ്യാക്കാമ്മാറങ്ങു തിരിച്ചപ്പോൾ *ayodhyakk-āmmāru* [ib., p. 23].

10. THE UNIQUE MAL. PHRASAL UNIT OF THE TYPE OF കാട്ടിലേ ആന AND THE QUALIFICATORY *ē* OF MAL.

From about the fifteenth century onwards, the texts show more or less frequently a unique Mal. phrasal unit in which the first constituent with a locative ending, followed by the particle *ē*, stands in direct relationship to the *viśeṣya* that forms the second constituent of the phrasal unit. In this unique Mal. construction the particle *ē* is annexed to the locative in order to convey the idea of a verb like *ഉള്ളു uḷḷa* which is not expressed; and the locative form (along with *ē*) and the noun (or pronoun) following it together form a compound unit which may be "declined".

The type referred to above is constituted of a locative inflexional form with *il-ē*, *-in-gal-ē* or *-att-ē*, immediately followed by the *viśeṣya*. *att-ē* appears to have been so constantly and

frequently associated with this qualificatory meaning that it was isolated as a sort of suffix and used even after verbs at in വന്നാലത്തേക്കഥ *varṇālatte-k-katha*. [See (iii) below].

It is interesting to note that this *ē* appearing after locatives and directives has also been used with a genitive force in some contexts [See v below.]

(i) അവനിലേ സ്നേഹം *avanilē snēham* [Lil., II, 11, comm.]
വായിലേ നന്മനി *vāyilē nanmaṇi* [KG, Rugm, l. 1071].
വീട്ടിലെ പൈതങ്ങൾ *viṭṭilē paidaṇṇaḷ* [ib.]
ജലത്തിലേക്കാരാ *jalattilē-k-kāṭṭu* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 65].

[Note the doubling of the plosive-k-, which attests the intimacy of the association of the constituents; this gemination is not always represented in writing].

കൃഷ്ണന്റെ വായിലേ ചർച്ചിതാംബുലം *kṛṣṇand'e vāyilē carṣida tāmḃulam* [Bhāg, Daś, p. 256].

വയലിലേക്കന്നം *vayalilē-k-kannam* [TAS, IV, p. 163].

പള്ളിലേ വികാരി *paḷḷilē vigāri* [TAS, III, p. 81].

വരണായത്തിങ്കലേ ഐരാത്രം *varuṇālayattiṅgalē aiśvaryam* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 104].

(ii) ദൂരത്തേ വീട്ടിലേ *dūratte viṭṭilē* [KG, Ulukh., l. 800]

അപ്പാട്ടേ പൈതങ്ങൾ *appāṭṭē-p-paidaṇṇaḷ* [ib]

ഇടത്തേക്കയ്യിൽ *iḍattē-k-kayyil* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 54]

വലത്തേനേത്രം *valattē nētram* [E., Cint., p. 27]

അവിടേതേ നമ്പൂരി *avidattē nāmbūri* [KU]

(iii) ചാരത്തേ വീട്ടിലേ *cāratte viṭṭilē* [KG, Ulukh., l. 799];

ഇന്നത്തേ *innatte* [Naiṣ. camp. 95], പിന്നത്തേക്കോപ്പ് [ib.]; ഇ

പ്പോഴത്തേതിലും *ippōḷattēdilum* [Girij., p. 51]; കൊമ്പത്തേയ്ക്കു

kombattēkku [Vēṭṭā]; ഇതിലത്തേപ്പാത്രം or ഇതിലേത്തേപ്പാത്രം

idil-ette-p-pātram; പിന്നേത്തേക്കായ്ക്കും *pinnēttē-k-kāryam*; ഒ

രണ്ടത്തേനികുതി *oraṇḍēttē nigudi*; വന്നാലത്തേക്കഥ *varṇālatte-*

k-katha; വരുമ്പോത്തേ സംഗതി *varumbōḷattē saṅgati*; അങ്ങന

ത്തേ ആരും *aṅṅanattē ā*.

(iv) കൈതയ്ക്കോട്ടേ കവലയദുരംപാട്ട് *kaidakkāṭṭē kuvalaya dr̥ṣām pāṭṭu* [US, I, 117]

കോഴിക്കോട്ടേക്കു *kōḷikkōṭṭē- s-sabha* [modern]

(v) The forms with \bar{e} in the following have a genitive force;—

നാട്ടാരേ വിട്ടിലേ $nāṭṭārē viṭṭilē$ [K G, Vals., l. 1568]

അങ്ങഭ്രാതാവു $aṅṅē bhrātāvū$ [Bh Bh, 2, p. 55]

ഉണാരേ ഭോഗ്യം $uṇmōrē bhāgyam$ [MP, No. 171]

പിള്ളരേമോഹം $pillārē mōham$ [Proverbs]

അവളേപുത്രൻ $avalē putran$ [OT, Dhruva; p. 208 of Inter Selections]

അങ്ങ അച്ഛനും $aṅṅē acchanum$ [OT, Sabhā]

Such instances are common in VPm:—അവളെ ബന്ധു [p. 26]; ഓളെ വമ്പത്തരം [p. 7], ചെമ്മാളെ ഭണ്ഡാരം [p. 35], നായരെപേരു [p. 125], കുറെചിലവു [p. 144], etc.

In (i), the particle \bar{e} appears after the locative endings *il* and *ingal*; in (ii), it occurs after *-att-* appearing in bases having final *-am*; in (iii), *attē* is transferred to forms where *-att-* cannot crop up as an inflexional augment at all, and in *വന്നാലത്തേക്കഥ* *vanṇālattē-k-katha* even to a verb-form *vanṇāl*; (iv) shows \bar{e} after the geminated *tt* of certain place-names or house-names; (v) is peculiar in as much as here the relationship becomes genitive.

The \bar{e} of group (i) may originally have arisen from the Tamil $iṭṭāśai$ or terminative expletive \bar{e} [see N, 354 and TC, 257] associated normally in constructions like the following so constantly and intimately as to lead to the isolation of phrasal units: ശ്രീപണ്ടാരത്തിലേ നെൽ അളന്നു $śrī paṇḍārattilē nēl aḷanṇu$ [TAS, IV, p. 19]; തക്കത്തളയെന്ന് എന്നെ മന്നിലേ മാലോകർ ചൊല്ലിപ്പോതു $śakuntalāyennṇu enne mannilē māḷōgar colli-p-pōrū$ [CBh, p. 291]; മാതൃപുത്രന്റെ വിരത ഇങ്ങിനെ പാരിലേ മാലോകർ വാഴ്ത്തുന്നേരം $māruda putrand'ē vīrata iṅṅane pārilē māḷōgar vāḷttunṇēram$ [CBh, p. 321].

Here, the locatives *śrīpaṇḍārattil-ē*, *mannilē*, *pāril-ē* containing the terminative expletive \bar{e} , normally govern the respective verbs following; but the association with the nouns immediately following, may lead to the isolation of compounds like *śrī paṇḍārattilē nēl*, *mannilē māḷōgar*, *pārilē māḷōgar*, which phrasal units could be independently employed with the meanings 'the paddy in the government treasury' 'the people in the world'.

This ē may have been then transferred to -att- appearing with a locative force in (ii) above.

In (iii), -att-ē- appears as an āgama by analogy, in instances in which the augment -att- is not normal.

The ē of (iv) after the geminated final locative ,tt [< d + tt, see my HAP] may be compared to (ii) above.

[Note:—the e or ē in the following categories is not related to the ē under reference in this section.

- (a) പിതൃനാഥം pitṛe-n-nāḥ or pitṛēn-nāḥ [with lengthening on account of accent.]

പണ്ടകാലം paṇḍē-k-kālam

മാതൃകാര്യം matṛēkkāryam

pitṛe, paṇḍe and matṛe here correspond to Tamil piṭṭai, paṇḍai and matṭai. For Malayalam e and Tamil ai, cf. Malayalam vare [Tamil varai], uḍe [Tamil uḍai], iḍe [Tamil iḍai] and the Malayalam acc. ending e [Tamil ai].

- (b) വടക്കേമുറി vaḍakke muṛi [TAS, III, p. 81]

കിഴക്കേമ്പിടി kiḷakkē nāmbiḍi [KU]

കിഴച്ചുണ്ടു kiḷē-c-cuṇḍu [Bh Bh]

ഇങ്ങപ്പുറത്തു inṅēppurattu

Here, the ē is originally long, being the tetṛam ē used in connection with “direction-denoters” [cf. മുമ്പേ mumbe, പിമ്പേ pimbē].

- (c) The e of ഏകകാലം ēre-k-kālam or ērēkkālam, വളരെ വേഗം vaḷare dravyam (originally short but sometimes lengthened owing to accent) is the old infinitive participial e [< a < a]; ēra, vaḷara were old infinitive participles which were later used in Malayalam with an “adjectival” force [See Ch. IV].

II. POSTPOSITIONS.

Postpositions which by frequent use have almost developed into regular “case”-endings have already been dealt with by me above. Here, I shall refer to few “loose” postpositions of Malayalam and their particularities.

1. കുറിച്ചു kuriccu [“conj.” participle of kuṛikk-], തൊട്ടു toṭṭu [“conj.” part-of toḍ] and കൊണ്ടു koṇḍu [“conj.” part-of kol] are used in the old texts in second case contexts. The use

of *toṭṭu* and *koṇḍu* with the meaning 'concerning' is non-existent in modern Malayālam, *kuṛiccu* or *paṭṭi* being common wherever a postposition is felt as necessary.

Some examples of *toṭṭu* and *koṇḍu* used in the earlier texts with a second case force are the following:—ഇതുതൊട്ടു വിവേകം *idu toṭṭu* [RC, 62]; വെണ്ണയും പാലും തൊട്ടുള്ള കൊതി *toṭṭulla kodi* [KG, Ulī, l. 219]; വഞ്ചനതൊട്ടുള്ളൊരു ചൊല്ലു് [ib., l. 490]; ഞങ്ങളെത്തൊട്ടു് [Rām. camp., Bālivadh. gadya]; കൃഷ്ണനെക്കൊണ്ടു് പറഞ്ഞു് *kṛṣṇane-k-koṇḍu* [KG. Tīrth., l. 28]; എന്നതുകൊണ്ടുള്ള വാത്കൾ *koṇḍulla* [ib., Saubh., l. 679]; രാമനെക്കൊണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞതു നിന്നടെ അല്പബലി *rāmane-k-koṇḍu paraññadu* [VR, p. 214].

toṭṭu and *koṇḍu*, today, are postpositions signifying respectively 'beginning from' and the third case idea.

Skt. *prati* is used as a "second case" postposition in instances like അവളെപ്രതി മുഴുത്തിത്തരാം *avale prati* [K Bh, p. 139], ചതികൾ അവനെപ്രതി പറഞ്ഞു *avane prati* [ib., p. 140], നമ്മെപ്രതി *namme prati* [ib., p. 64]; കോപവുംമഠം പ്രതി വലിക്കും *mām prati* [E]. Bh, p. 32]; ലോകം നമ്മെപ്രതി എത്രയും സന്തോഷിക്കും *namme prati* [Kirāt. kilip., 1, l. 102].

2. *koṇḍu* as a postposition expresses chiefly the ideas of 'agency' or 'instrumentality' in Malayālam. In Middle Tamil it is very frequent, but rare in Old Tamil though *kaṇai koṇḍu* in *Puṇaṇṇuru*, verse 55, may be considered to be an instance in which the original participial meaning has just begun to suffer semantic discoloration.

Skt. *nimittam*, *mūlam*, *hetu* are also employed in Malayālam to express 'agency' or 'instrumentality'.

uḍan expressing 'sociality' occurs in some of the early texts [RC]; but it has gone out of use in modern Malayālam in which *kūḍe* preceded either by the simple base or by its genitive form, is common.

Participles¹ like *കേമിച്ചു്* *oromiccu*, *കേനിച്ചു്* *orñiccu* are also used to denote 'sociality'.

1 ഒക്കെ *okke* in the sense of കൂടെ occurs in Bh Bh.—
യശോഭയും രോഹിണിയും ഒരു ചാട്ടിന്മേൽ കരേറി രാമകൃഷ്ണ
ന്മാരോടൊക്കെ [1, p. 41].

āy is used with the meaning of *kūḍe* in instances like the following :—

ഇരുവരുമായ് iruvarumāy [K Bhāg., p. 177]; സാഗ്രജനം സഖികളുമായേ sāgrajanum sakhikalum āyē [K Bhāg. p. 77]; തമ്പിയുമായേ tampiyumāye [K R, Ar., 19] This use of āy exists in Middle and Modern Tamil.

3. വേണ്ടി vēṇḍi, ആയ് āy, ആയ്ക്കൊണ്ടു āykkonḍu [L, II, 11, comm.] are postpositions reinforcing the fourth case signification.

It may be noted in connection with āyi ar āy that in literary Tamil the infinitive participle āga is considered more appropriate in contexts corresponding to the above : ivanukk - āga - k - koḍuttān 'he gave to this man'; but the use of āyi or āy, the conjunctive participle, instead of the infinitive participle is due to an extended application of the principle envisaged by N, 346 in certain contexts [cf. Chap IV, 7], though āy is not regarded in Tamil as a postposition proper.

4. പോക്കൽ pōkkal as a variant of പക്കൽ pakkal [cf. Middle Tam. pakkal mentioned by V and occurring in Early Middle Tam. as, for instance, in SII, III, p. 95] and പോക്കൽ തിന്നു pōkkal ninnu occur in the campus, in BhBh, E, Cāṇakky and in VR.

ഭിന്നമാർ പോക്കൽ ആക്കിട്ടു dīnamār pōkkal [Rām. camp., Ang., 14]; ആർ പോക്കൽ ങ്കര pōkkal [ib., Ang]; കംസൻപോക്കൽ നിന്നുള്ള യേം Kamsan pōkkal ninnuḷḷa bhayam [Bh Bh]; രാഘവൻ പോക്കൽനിന്നു rāghavan pōkkal ninnu [E, Rām.]; തമ്പോക്കൽ tambōkkal [E, Harinām.]; മുദയം ചത്രവും സിദ്ധാർത്ഥൻ പോക്കൽ നല്ലി ഭിന്നാർ siddhārthan pōkkal [Cāṇakky.]; ജ്ഞാതീകൾ പോക്കൽ പോലുള്ളയേം jñātigaḷ pōkkal pōluḷḷa bhayam [VR, p. 334].

pōkkal does not, however, exist in the earliest texts or in the present-day colloquial where only pakkal and pakkal ninnu are used.

pōkkal looks like a new formation used from the 15th to the 17th centuries, as a variant of pakkal which in structure (except for the *ō*) resembles it.

5. Some of the unique Mal. postpositions with a seventh case force are the following:—

(i) *iḍa* or *iḍe* [cf. Tam. *iḍai* as a postposition] as in *kāṇ-iḍa* [KR, *Ār.*, 91], *മാറീടെ* *māṛiḍe* [KG, *Rugm.*], *മന്നീടെ* *manniḍe* [Bhāg. *Daś.*, p. 158], *കാട്ടീടെ* *kaṭṭiṭe* [OT, p. 645] has gone out of fashion in the modern period as a postposition proper.

(ii) *uḍe* [from *ūḍu* 'centre' 'middle'] has been a very active postposition in Mal. from the earliest period:— *പുക്കുവിലൂടെ* *pūṅgavilūḍe* [US]. cf. Early Middle Tam. *ūḍe* [Tiruvāy. p. 64]

(iii) *aṇayattu* as in *aṇayattu cennu* [KR, *Ār.*, 82] also does not exist today, though literary texts show it in many contexts.

(iv) *cārattu* which appears so frequently in KG and CBh and occasionally in E₁ and other Mal. texts is not actively current in the modern colloquial, so far as I can see.

(v) *ēl*, as in *കാലത്തേൽ* *kaḷuttēl* [KR, *Ār.*, 196], *പുഷ്പകവിമാനത്തേൽ* *puṣpakavimānattēl* 'on the *puṣpakavimāna*' [Rām Camp. *Udyāna*, 34], *puraiyeḍattēl* [beside *puraiyeḍattinmēl*] in an early inscription [TAS, II, p. 197], *ഇടുത്തു കാലേൽ* *kālēl* [JKA, I, p. 279], *കൊമ്പേൽ* *kombēl* [OT, p. 233] appears to be a contraction of *mēl* [or-in-mēl] 'on the top of' It is significant that this postpositional affix which is very old and which is expressly pointed out in the commentary on the 11th sutra of the second *śilpa* in the 14th century grammar *L*, is current today in certain areas in Travancore.

The *ēl* appearing in the instances in *VPM* like *പിടിയേൽ* [p. 75=പിടികയിൽ], *കൊട്ടമലേൽ* [=കാട്ടമലയിൽ], *കട്ടിപ്പട്ടറേൽ* [p. 63കെട്ടിപ്പട്ടറുടെ കയ്യിൽ] is of course different.

6. It deserves to be noted here that most of the native postpositions of Mal. correspond to Early Middle Tam. forms used either loosely or rigidly with postpositional significations. *paṭṭi*, *kuṛittu*, *koṇḍu*, *vēṇḍi*, *pakkal*, *iḍai*, *cār*, are all Early Middle Tam. forms. Among these, *pakkal*, *iḍai*, *cār* and others denoting the locative idea, are recognized by the old indigenous grammars [cf. *V*, *Vēṭṭ.*, 7, comm.,] as "postpositional", while the others [conjunctive participles originally] are used in texts

with more or less a "loose" postpositional force. Okka [originally the infinitive participle of okk 'to agree with' 'to suit, fit'] has in Tam. the meanings 'in company with' [cf. okkappāḍ 'to sing in unison'] 'plentifully' and 'equally'; tottu [originally the conjunctive participle of toḍ--'to touch'] has in Tam. texts the significations 'from' [cf. Mal.], while in regional colloquials it means 'regarding' or 'concerning' [cf. Old Mal.]

12. COMPARISONAL ENDINGS

Old Tam. employed -in of the fifth case with its ellai-p-poruḷ or nīkka-p-poruḷ to convey the comparisinal meaning.

Middle Tamil had il and ilum and also kātṭil (um), pārkkil-(um). In colloquial Tam., viḍa, pārkka, preceded by the second case, is common.

Mal. has the following.—

1. The ending -il which Gundert equates to the locative -il but which it would perhaps be more reasonable to regard as the Early Middle Tam. descendant of old Tam. fifth case-in with the signification of nīkkam. [cf. എല്ലാറ്റിനും നല്ലതു ellāṭṭin-um nalladu in BhBh]; പണ്ടതിൽ പത്തിരട്ടിച്ചു paṇḍēdil patt-iratticcu [Rām. camp. Aṅg]; മുന്നതിലും അധികം munnēdilum adbhikam [KR, Bāl., 283]; മുന്നതിൽ ഏറും munuēdil ēṭṭam [KG, Sālv., l. 8c]. ധരണിയൽ വാഴ്കയിൽ നല്ല മരണം dharāṇi-y-il vālga-y-il nallu maraṇam [E. Bh]; ഇതിൽ അധികം idil adhikam [OT]; അതിൽ വലുതു adil valudu [KU].

2. kāl [←perhaps kāṇil; cf. kāṇe below]; പണ്ടക്കാരോ paṇḍē-k-kāl, പണ്ടതിൽക്കാരോ paṇḍēdil-k-kāl [US, 2, 68], പണ്ടതിനേക്കാരോ paṇḍēdinē-k-kāl [US, 1, 134]—ഇതിൽക്കാരോ idil-k-kāl [BhG] and [Naiṣ. camp.]; ഇതേക്കാരോ idē-k-kāl [ib.], എന്നേക്കാരോ ennē-k-kāl [KG, Rugm., 539].

3. kāṇil [a variant of kāṇil]

രിപ്പുവനെക്കളിൽ ripuvine-k-kāṇil [Cānaky].

4. kātṭil, quite common from the earliest times, is mentioned in L, II, 11.

5. kāyil—ചന്ദനക്കായിൽ candune-k-kāyil [VP]

എന്നെക്കായിലും enne-k-kāyilum [CAR, V, p. 12]

എന്നെക്കായിലും പ്രിയനായ enne-k-kāyilum [VR, p. 301]

എന്നെക്കായിൽ enne-k-kāyil [Pāṭṭ.]

6. kãṇe—ബാപ്പ നാടത്തിയതിനെക്കൊണ്ടെ bāppa nāḍattiyadine-k-kāṇe [cited by Gundert from ṭippuppāṭṭu]

13. AUGMENTS.

The incorporation of certain particles as augments between bases and inflexional terminations and between the constituents of word-compounds is a characteristic feature of most Dr. languages [see my DS for a comparative discussion].

The augments met with in Mal. are the following:— -in-; -am-; a mere nasal; -aṭṭ-, -iṭṭ-; and -att-. Among these, -in- and att- are used both in inflexions and in samāsas; the mere nasal and -am appear only in samāsas; and -aṭṭ-, -iṭṭ- crop up before inflexional endings of the “neuter” plurals ava, iva, cila, pala and ellā.

The Augment-in

The chief rules relating to this augment in inflexional positions are the following:—

(i) It appears compulsorily in the datives and the genitives of bases with final u [= Tamil muṭṭriyalugaram u], and final ə, ū and ā; in the accusatives and the instrumentals of these bases, the augment is optional.

(ii) It fails to appear in the datives and genitives of bases with final -i, ī and a [<ai or palatal a]; in the accusatives and in the instrumentals, the augment may optionally appear in old Mal. [cf. Kaṇṇaṣṣan’s sita-y-in-āl, māya-y-in-e, etc.]

(iii) Bases with final “person”-denoting n, ḷ and r do not take on the augment; those with final -y do not have the augment except optionally in the second and the third “cases” and dialectally in datives and genitives; monosyllabic bases with short vowels and final l, ḷ, n, ṇ, r invariably embody the augment in the datives and the genitives; monosyllabic bases with long vowels and final l, ḷ, r (other than the “person”-denoting ḷ, r mentioned above) embodied the augment only optionally for datives and genitives in old Mal., but in new Mal. the augment is most common for these “cases”; dissyllabic bases with final consonants (other than the “person”-denoters) had no augment for the datives and the genitives in old Mal. and early new Mal., but today the colloquials generally embody the augment.

(iv) Plurals do not generally take on the augment though exceptional instances like പദ്യങ്ങളിനാൽ *padyaṅṅal-in-āḷ* [BhG, 1, 6] exist.

(v) The augment generally does not appear before the seventh case *il*; but early old Mal. has a few instances like the following, evidencing a usage corresponding to that which cropped up in early Middle Tam.—പൊഴുതിനിൽ *poḷud-in-il* [RC, 90]; നെരിയിനിൽ *neri-y-in-il* [TAS, IV, p. 125]; വെലികല്ലിനിൽ *veli kallinil* [TAS, IV, p. 17]; അതിനിൽ [TAS, II, p. 186 — 10th. c.] cf. early Middle Tam. *i-m-mann-ulag-in-il* [Tiruvāymoli].

The use of the augment *-in-* before the fifth case *-in-* is expressly disapproved by TE, 132; but when in early Middle Tam. the locative *il* “cropped up,” the augment was sometimes embodied before this *il*.

(vi) The augment *-in-* is constant and compulsory in the inflexional endings of *adu* and *idu* and of the numerals. Old Tam. had *-an-* as the augment here [cf. T E, 177, 195], while Middle Tam. had *-in-* :—*ond'-in* [TAS, II, p. 49].

(vii) The use of the augment *-in-* for Mal. inflexional endings is of the utmost significance in connection with the formation of datives and genitives. I shall show below how the preference and the exclusion of the augment in Mal. inflexional positions was intimately connected with early Middle Tam. practice.

Old Tam.	Early Middle Tam.	Mal.
Bases with final <i>ā, u,</i> <i>ū</i> [T E, 174]—augment <i>-in-</i> most common.	As in old Tam., except for the optional dropping of the augment in the Acc. and Instr.	Augment constant and compulsory in the Dat. and the Gen.; optional in the Acc. and the Instr.
Bases with final <i>-ē-</i> —augment most common [T E, 174].	Optional only	Bases rare; but old Mal. <i>pē</i> takes augment optionally.

Bases with final -u. —Augment compulsory [T E, 196]	Optional for Acc. and Instr., but common in the Dat. and the Gen.	Compulsory for the Gen. and the Dat.
Bases with final -i and -ai [Mal. a]—optional [T E, 203].	Augment generally avoided	Augment never used.
Bases with final -am. —augment - in - after -att-optional.	-in-after the <i>ādeśa</i> -att- common in the Dat. and the Gen.	Compulsory for the Dat. and the Gen.
Monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels and final consonants—optional augment—[T E, 203].	Augment generally used.	Augment always used for the Dat. and the Gen.
Monosyllabic bases with long radical vowels and final consonants—optional augment [T E, 203]	Optional	Optional for the Acc. and the Instr.—for the Dat. ² optional in Old Mal. [cf. <i>pōrinu</i> and <i>pōrkku</i>], but augment more or less general in modern Mal.; [<i>kālinnu</i> , but rarely also <i>kālkku</i> in regional colloquials]; for the genitive, the augment is common.
Dissyllabic bases with final consonants (other than -m).—Optional [T E, 203].	Optional.	Optional for the Acc. and the Instr.—Datives had generally no augment in Old Mal.; but in New Mal. the augment came to be used frequently; today the augment is commonly used in the Dat. and the Gen.

¹ Both കൈയ്യ and കയ്യിൻ are heard today, the difference being 'dialectal'; but the genitive കയ്യിൻ appears to be far more common than കയ്യെ.

² The datives നായ്ക്ക, പായ്ക്ക and the genitives നായുടെ, പായുടെ are common in modern speech. The genitive നായ്യിൻ [cf. MP, No. 526] is heard in proverbs today.

Person-denoters like Augment Augment never
ava, avar, etc. and never used. used.
plurals with ka.—
Augment never used.

2. The augment -in- appears in Mal. compounds, as in Tam:—പൊൻമാടത്തിൻ നിഴൽ *ponmāḍatt-in-nīḷal* [US, II, 9], വടക്കിൻ കൂൾ *vāḍakk-in-kūru* [US, II, 23,—modern *vadakkuṅ-gūru*, -in-changing to -un- in the unaccented position], കിഴക്കിൻ ചിറയ്ക്കു *kiḷakk-in-ciraikku* [US, II, 30], നാലുതിൻ കഴൈയ്ക്കു *nālpad-in-kaḷainju* [TAS, II, p. 47].

The augment-am-

Though not very frequent in Mal., this augment exists in instances like മലംപാമ്പു *malam-bāmbu* and ആലമ്പു *ālam-būvu*. TE for Tamil prescribes it for compounds involving *puḷi* [245] etc.

The mere nasal

This perhaps is the “reduced” form of one of the preceding augments. L, III, 12 specifically refers to it:—പുറൻ *pū-n-dēn*, പൂളി *puḷi-n-gaṛi*, പൂമ്പട്ട *pū-m-baṭṭu*.

The augment-atṭ-(iṭṭ)

TE refers to it as -*vaṭṭ*—but N isolates it as -*aṭṭ*—[See my DS]. This augment appears in the “case”-endings of *ava*, *iva*, *cila*, *pala* and *ellā*. In Early Middle Tamil and in Old Mal., the augment assumes the form -*iṭṭ*-also in connection with *ava* and *iva*.

അവയിരിക്കലും *avayitṭiṅgalum* [US, I, 17]

അവയിരിക്കട്ടെ *avayitṭinude* [KR, Kiṣk., 219]

ചെറിയവയിരിക്കട്ടെ *ceṛiyavayitṭinukku* [K Bhāg, p. 54]

ഇവിടെ *iviṭṭinu* [TAS, II, p. 173]

ഇവയിരിക്കട്ടെ *ivayitṭōḍu* [K Bhāg., p. 60]

പലതിലും *palattṭilum* [Bhāg, p. 10]

എല്ലാവരെയും *ellāvattē* [Kucēl. Vañji, l. 213]

Both *ivaiyatt-*, *avaiyatt-* and *ivaṭṭ-*, *avaṭṭ-* are allowed by TE [cf. 178 and 184]; the former persisted in literature down till Early Middle Tam. and Early Old Mal. *avaṭṭ* and *ivaṭṭ* were more popular afterwards. Beside *avaṭṭ*- and *ivaṭṭ*-, inflexional forms (without the augment) like *ava-y-uḍe*, *ava-y-āl*, *avaikku* also gained currency. Today, the colloquial uses these last-mentioned inflexional forms of *ava* and *iva* normally, the old *avaṭṭ*-being

limited to contexts implying "contempt" [with reference to "irrationals", as well as to "humans" when regarded with contempt]. Further, new nominatives *ivaṭṭa*, *avaṭṭa* [in some colloquials today] and *ivaṭṭiṇṇa* *iṭṭiṇṇa*, *avaṭṭaṇṇa* [certain British Malabar colloquials] have been formed from the inflexional stem. *Bhṛ̥sm.* has *ivaṭṭa* [pp. 64 and 67] used as nominatives with reference to "irrationals".

avaṭṭagaḷ-uḍe [Bh Bh, 2, p. 39] and *ivaṭṭagaḷe-k-konḍu* [ib., 2, p. 40] presuppose similar nominatives with *-gaḷ* (the plural affix).

Cilatt- and *palatt-* have ceased to be actively current in the present-day colloquial, but *ellāṭṭ-* is quite an exclusive inflexional stem for *ellā*. The augment was, however, omitted in the old literary form *ellāyilum* [RC, 407; Rām. camp.; Bhāg. Daś, etc.].

The augment -att-

-att-, as a rule, is inserted in the "case"-terminations of noun-bases with final -am, as in *mar-att-il*, etc. In the older texts, however, instances like *തിരമം* *tīram-ōḍu* [KR, Ār., 157], *നലമം* *nālam-ōḍu* [Eḷ Bh] exist without the augment. Skt. words adapted in Mal. with an original or a new final -am, also take on the augment -att- in their "case"-terminations, but here again there are numerous instances without the augment.

-att- sometimes crops up as a result of "popular" analogy, as in *അടിയത്തിന്നു* *aḍiyattinnu* [Pūṇḍānam's *Santānagō*], *അടിയത്തോടു* *aḍiyattōḍu* [beside *അടിയന്നു* *aḍiyannu* and *അടിയനോടു* *aḍiyanōḍu*]. Even the "popular" noun *kūṭṭān* derived from the inf. participle, takes on, in the "vulgar" colloquial, -att- sometimes, as in *കൂട്ടത്തിന്നു*.

-att- appears in compounds like the following:—old *kapikulatt-araśan*, *āyiratt-āṇḍu*; *kuvalatt-ilā*, *ēlatt-ari*.

The use of -attu with a locative meaning without any affix or postposition following it, and of attē with a qualificatory value [unique Mal.] in phrasal units has already been adverted to.

Augments in Tam. and Mal.

It would be useful to sum up here the important differences between Tam. and Mal. in the use of augments in general:—

(1) While all the augments of Mal. exist in Tam., Mal. lacks the following Tam. augments:

on [TE, 181], an [TE, 177], the so-called -ikk- and -akk- [TE, 127, 128].

(2) The rules regarding the use of -in- in inflexional positions became fixed in Mal. more or less (i.e. with due allowance made for "regional" variations) according to the usage current in the Early Middle Tam. period [see above].

(3) Mal. -itt- in pad-itt-āṇḍu, etc. is the same as the Tam. augment; but -itt- in ivitt-, avayitt- of Old Mal. follows the colloquial of Early Middle Tam., current in the west coast.

(4) The developments avattā, avattāgaḷ, ivattā, ivattāgaḷ are unique in Mal.

(5) While modern colloquial Tam. has lost the augment -in- in inflexional positions [the process perhaps started in the colloquial very early, since forms like adukku, peṇṇ-u-kku were already common in the Middle Tam. period] and also att for avai and ivai, colloquial Mal. has permanently retained -in- regularly in the inflexions of the types shown in the list above, and att also in avattā, avattāgaḷ, etc.

14. PLURALS.

The general rules of plural formation in Mal. are more or less the same as those of Tam. A few features, however, merit mention (or discussion) here.

1. The use of the plural ending -kaḷ- was in Old Tam. restricted to "irrationals" and even here only optionally [cf. TC, 169 and 171]; but in early Middle Tam. [cf. V, Vētt., 2] this plural ending was used for "rationals" also. Mal. agrees with Early Middle Tam. in this respect, since forms like rājākkaḷ, vasukkaḷ, asurargaḷ, avargaḷ, bhrātakkaḷ are all common in the earliest Mal. texts and inscriptions.

2. The plural ending mār, employed primarily with a connotation of "dignity" (but in later stages used in instances like cōranmār, etc. also) is most active in Mal. today, while in modern colloquial Tam. it is restricted to regional dialects.

Mal. instances like rājakkanmār, gurukkanmār [Tam. gurukkan-mār where ṇ is the sandhi-changed representative of ḷ of kaḷ] owe their n to analogy with the n of araśanmār, kumāranmār, etc.

The *n* of നായനാർ *nāyanmār*, പട്ടനാർ *paṭṭanmār*, അമ്മയനാർ *ammayānmar* [cf. merely honorific *ammayār* in US, 2, 15] is also analogically introduced here in the stead of original *r* [of *ār* or *ar*, the honorific ending of *nāyar*, *paṭṭar* and *ammayār*.]

The following with double and triple plural endings are peculiar:— പിതാക്കന്മാർകൾ *pidākkannmārgal* [K Bhāg, p. 246], നരപതിമാർകൾ *narapatimārgal* [BhG, 1, 8], പരമേശ്വരന്മാർകൾ *para-dēvatamārgal* [Paṭap.], അടികൾമാർ *adigalṁmār* 'saints' [TAS, II, p. 85], ചന്ദ്രമവൾകൾമാർ *vāḷumavargalṁmār* [TAS, III, p. 194, l. 12].

The following forms also merit mention here: പതിനാലുമാർ *padināḷumār* [TAS, III, p. 194], പത്തനാൾ *parundanmār* [KBhr, p. 102], പമ്പനാൾ *pāmbanmār* [Bh Bh], വണ്ടനാൾ *vaṇḍanmār* [Bh Bh], വണ്ടത്തനാൾ *vaṇḍattānmār* [VR, p. 201], തപാനാൾ *śvānanmār* [VR, p. 281], മക്കത്തനാൾ *maṭṭkaḍattānmār* [OT, p. 484].

3. പെണ്ണുങ്ങൾ *peṇṇuṇṇal*, appearing in Mal. from a very early time has always been distinguished in meaning in Mal. from *peṇṇal*, the normal plural of *peṇ*, which however early assumed [cf. അച്ഛന്റെപെണ്ണൾ *acchand'e peṇṇal* in Bh Bh, 2, p. 53] the meaning 'sister' [modern colloquial *peṇṇal* or *peṇṇāḷa* (as in VP and in colloquials today)] and had further a new plural പെണ്ണമ്മൾ *peṇṇammār* [VP, I, p. 10] or പെണ്ണാൾ *peṇṇāḷar*.

Similarly, *āpuṇṇal* 'males' is distinguished in meaning from *āṇṇāḷa* 'brother' [KG; VP] from an early time, this *āṇṇāḷa* having a new plural *āṇṇāḷa-mār* or *āṇṇāḷār*.

I think that the forms *peṇṇuṇṇal* and *āpuṇṇal* may have been newly constituted as a result of the semantic restriction suffered by the original normal plurals *āṇṇal* and *peṇṇal* in Mal.

In കുണ്ണുങ്ങൾ *kuṇṇuṇṇal*, perhaps the nasal group *ṇṇ* of *kuṇṇu* was partly responsible for inducing the nasal before *kaḷ*.

Both *kiḍākkal* [normal] and *kiḍāṇṇal* [KG, Vals., l. 1082] exist in Mal.

പൊത്തങ്ങൾ *pōttaṇṇal* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 75] and നിർമ്മാർ *nirmmaryādaṇṇal* [cf. Rām. camp., Sugr., 27] are strange formations not current today. cf. കത്തങ്ങൾ *kaṭṭaṇṇal* 'priests' [TAS VII, p. 152—16th c.], കത്തനാൾ *kaṭṭanār* being honorific.

4. The epicene plural endings with `r exist in Mal. as in Tamil:—നാലർ *nālar* [Rām. camp.], എഴുവർ *eḷuvar* [Rām. camp.], മകളർ *magaḷar* [Eḷ. Bh. and Naiṣ. camp.] The last form appeared to have been colloquially active down till the early New Mal. period; *magaḷer* exists in the language of the Nambudiri Brahmins even today. പെണ്ണി *peṇḍi* 'woman' as sing. exists in an old proverb: അടക്കമില്ലപ്പെണ്ണി *aḍakkamillā-p-peṇḍi* [Proverbs, No. 31]; the plural form in Old Mal. was not *peṇḍir* as in Old Tam. but only പെണ്ണികൾ *peṇḍigaḷ*. [J K A, I, p-455]

5. *kār* appearing in modern വണ്ടിക്കാർ *vaṇḍikkār*, വേലക്കാർ *vēlakkār*, etc. has to be traced to *kār-ar* [cf. Eḷ's കുറളക്കാർ *kur-aḷakkār* and ചരിക്കാർ *cadikkār* and also അവസരക്കാർ *avasara-kkār* in VR, p. 99 but കൂട്ടുകാർ *kūṭṭugār* in OT,] in which the genuine pl. suffix-*ār* appears. *kār*- is a Sanskrit suffix with which forms like *vēlakkāran*, etc., have been formed in some of the south Dr. speeches.

In Travancore documents and in certain regional colloquials, the plural *kār-ar* appears as-*kār-ar*, while generally in other parts of Malabar today the coalesced-*kār* stands for *kār-ar*.

For *kār*, cf. പരിചരിക്കാർ *paricagāraṅku* [TAS, IV, p 86 ff—13th c], and നാട്ടുകാർ *nāṭṭugār*, സർവ്വധികാർ *sarvādhikāryakkār* in a late 18th cent. document reproduced in JKA, I, p. 42.

The change of post-dental or alveolar *r* to a cerebral *ṛ* on account of the influence of neighbouring back vowels is a special feature of Mal. phonology [see my PMP]; cf. the following colloquial forms occurring in V Pm:—ഓവർ *ōṛu* [= അവർ *avar*]; ജോനോർ *jōṇōṛu* [= ജോനകർ *jōnakar*], etc.

CHAPTER II.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

1. The Old Tam. intermediate demonstratives on an- u- basis ceased to be active in the Middle Tam. period. Mal. also does not have them.

Gundert [Gr., p. 38] seeks, though with considerable hesitation [ct. Mal. Dict., p. 121], to identify the old intermediate demonstrative in Mal. forms like പൊത്തു paraññūdu, വത്തു varññūdu, കൊടുത്തു koḍuppuḍu; but forms like പൊത്തു paraññū, occurring in K G and other early texts may probably be constituted of the Mal. finite of the type paraññū [with final full u] and the expletive adu of which a- has been absorbed, while forms like പൊത്തു പൊത്തു പൊത്തു pādūdu, പൊത്തു പൊത്തു പൊത്തു pādūdu may have been derived from പൊത്തു പൊത്തു പൊത്തു pādūdu and പൊത്തു പൊത്തു പൊത്തു pādūvadum [cf. my observation in Ch. IV in connection with the ū of the unique Mal. Indeterminate tense].

2. The adjectival use of adu, idu in Mal. [instead of i, ī, and a, ā] as in idu poḷudu [K R, Ār., 10] and idu vaḷi [K R, Bāl., 77] is somewhat peculiar. Such a usage is not current in Old Tam.; but Middle Tam. and the modern colloquial allow collocations like adu mādiri, idu pōle, etc.

3. The use of a and i before relative verbal participles, as in ഇക്കട്ടവിശേഷം i-k-kēṭṭa viśeṣam [K R, Sund., 138] and ഇക്കട്ട രൂപത്തിൽ i-k-kaṇḍa rūpattil [K G, Vals., l. 1506] is quite unique in Mal.

4. The absence of the gemination of the sound v [from the glide v] in aviḍe, iviḍe [current in Mal. from the earliest known times], and the lack of grammatically standardized sandhi units like Tam. a-v-yānai 'that elephant, are other Mal. specialities recognized by L, III, 2 and 3.

5. The common modern Mal. demonstratives ā and ī [the lengthened forms of a and i] occur in Old Tamil only in poetry according to TE, 209. It is worthy of note that these lengthened demonstratives are, while restricted to poetry in Tamil, very

commonly used in the literary and the colloquial dialects alike in Mal., Telugu and Kannaḍa.

6. av and iv, the plural "neuter" demonstratives in old instances like ഇവല്ലാം ivellām [K R, Ār., 8] may be compared to av and iv of Tam.

7. It may be mentioned here that, while the plurals av(a) and iv(a) had always the augment -att- in inflexional endings in Old Tamil, the practice of optionally dropping this augment in the inflexional forms of the plural bases appears to have cropped up in the Middle Tam. stage, since forms like avai-y-ōḍu occur in Middle Tam. This optional practice exists in Mal. also from the earliest literary period; and in the modern colloquials, Mal. generally drops the augment in the inflexional forms of these bases.

8. In Mal., from the earliest known period, -idu¹ appears in literary texts after finite tense-forms (when there are no personal endings) as a mere expletive in all persons and numbers (without showing grammatical concord with the subject):—ഓലയം ഏഴതി ഇട്ടിതു itṭidu [TAS, V, p. 85—12th century], കണ്ടായിതു kṇāyidu [K R, Bāl., 80]; ചെനീതു മിനങ്ങൾ cenṇidū dinanṇal [K R, Bāl., 82]; അവൻ വിപ്രവർക്കു കൊടുത്തിതു ദാനം avan vipṛavararkku koḍuttidu dānam [ib. 49]; എങ്ങിക്കീലും മറഞ്ഞിതു അന്നിത)ചരന്മാർ maṇṇidū anṇiścāran-mār [RC, 843].

-udu also appears as an expletive particularly in connection with tense-forms with final-u:—

എങ്ങൾ വന്നതു" eṇṇal vaṇṇūdu [CBh, p. 315 of Inter. Selections]; പറഞ്ഞതേ paraṇṇudē [E. Bh].

Rarely, -adu appears as a partial expletive: ഇവണ്ണം കഠിനികളുടെ മിനഭാവങ്ങൾ ശ്രീകൾ കണ്ടിയതു strigal kṛṭṭiyadu [Bh Bh]; ഇവംസുഭവകഥ മൂന്ന് പരിഷയെ ശുദ്ധിവരുത്തുന്നതു śuddhi varuttuṇṇadu [Bh Bh, 1, p. 2].

1. idu as a variant of -adu in "neuter" participials has been referred to in the commentary on *Viracōḷiyam* as occurring in (colloquial) Tam., under sūtra 11 of the *kṛiyā paḍalam*. Perundēvanār refers to variants like ഉൺപിതു uṇbidu and ഉൺകവിതു uṇṅuvīdu. Of course in Tam., the "neuter" force was never lost sight of.

idu, as a variant of -adu, occurs in Mal. inscriptions in forms (with a gentle "hortative" meaning) like ചെല്ലിതു, കൊടുപ്പിതു etc. [See ch. IV.]

These two last-mentioned constructions mark a transition stage, since the forms with-adu may be regarded as participials].

നമ്പിരാട്ടിയൻ അമ്മെച്ചിതു ഒരു തിരുവാളകിൻ amaiccidu [TA S, II, p. 177—10th c.] shows a participial noun pure and simple, while കൊടുത്തിരു koḍuttidu in the same inscription p. 204, shows the transition from the participial to the expletive stage.

I think that originally the forms were used as participials¹ and that afterwards (perhaps along with the disintegration of personal endings)-idu (and rarely-udu), the phonetic variants of adu, came to be used as mere expletives.

9. In this connection I may note that പല pala and ചില cila when used appositionally or predicatively generally show the plural forms in OldMal.; but gradually by about the time of E₁, paladu and ciladu began to be used when the plural idea was clear from the context:—

ഉടൽ പലവം uḍal palavum [KR, Utt., 261]

നാറപലവ nāḷ palava [ib., 176]

പലവകാൺ palava [RC, 453]

ഇവ പലവിൽ iva palavil [K Bhr, p. 133]

E₁ uses both palavum and paladu alike:—പറിച്ചുകൊള്ളക പലവം ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ palavum [E₁ Bh]; പലവംനിരൂപിച്ചു palavum [ib.]; പരയണമൊപല pala [ib]; കർത്തുങ്ങൾ പലതുൺ paladu [ib.]; ഇശ്വരചരിത്രങ്ങൾ പലതും paladum [Cint].

VR has മാനങ്ങൾ പലതുൺ māṇaṅṅal paladunṅḍu [p. 2], വിടുകൾ പലതിലും viḍugaḷ paladilum [p. 280], ചിലതുനൾ ciladu nāḷ [p. 165].

Today, paladu is far more common than palava in the above contexts.

¹ Instances like വന്തതായി vanṇud-āyi [KG, Prāvr̥d. l. 4] പോയിതായി pōyidāyi [ib., Hemant., l. 2] show the bhāvavacana or verbal noun force of the participial.

CHAPTER III.

PRONOUNS.

The forms showing distinctive features in Mal. are dealt with below.

1. The first person singular *nān* with initial *n* may have been an archaism of the west coast. Old Tamil shows *yān*, while Middle Tamil has *n'ān* beside older *yān*.

The "oblique" or the inflexional base has *en-* both in Tam. and in Mal., as in certain other Dravidian speeches; but Mal. *enikku*, the dative, shows *-i-* in the stead of *-a-* of Tam *enakku*. Sometimes, however, *nān* itself appears before the postpositions *mūlam* [*nān mūlam*, E] Bh.] and *nimittam* [KR, Sund.]

2. The first person plural forms in Mal. are the following:—old *nāññal* [KR, Sund, 76 and RC, 34].

nāññal, another "exclusive" form with shortening of the basal-*ā*, met with in the older texts and in present-day speech. cf. the "oblique" *nāñgal* of Early Middle Tam. [e. g. *Tiruvāymoli*, III, 9, 3].

nām or *nōm*, is the old "inclusive" form. *ō* [=long *o*] in *ōm* *nōm*, and *o* in *ōm* *nōmmayum* and *ōm* *nōmma* [CAR III, p. 20] are due to the influence of the bilabial-*m*. *nāmma* is another "inclusive" form.

3. The history of the first person plural pronouns *nāññal*, *nāñnal* and the "oblique" *eññal* and *nāññal* is noteworthy.

(a) Old Tamil completely lacks the first person plurals with the ending *ka*. It is in the Early Middle Tam. stage that *ka* in *n'ānka* [Nom.], *n'āñka* ["oblique"] and *eñka* ["oblique"] appears. The Mal. forms, in so far as they show the plural ending *ka* for these, correspond to the Early Middle Tam. ones.

(b) Mal. *nāññal* [with a unique palatal *ñ*-not found in Tam. *n'ānka*] is used in the earliest texts both as the Nom. and as the "oblique" stem: *nāññal-e* [KR, Kišk., 99], *nāññal-il* [ib., 397], [RC, 834].

(c) More frequent as the “oblique” stem in the earliest texts than *ñāññal-* or *ñāññal-* is *eññal-* [corresponding to Mid. Tam. “oblique” *eñkal-*]. *eññal-* is the “oblique” stem appearing exclusively in US; and *eññal-* beside the “oblique” *ñāññal-* appears in KG, in Bh Bh, in the campus and in E₁’s works. Rarely it crops up in later works like Vetā. While it was exclusive in US, it is gradually displaced by *ñāññal-* as the “oblique” stem in later texts, till in the modern Mal. stage it has been more or less ousted except in certain communal colloquials. That at an early stage *eññal-* was fairly deep-rooted in Mal. is indicated by the use of *eññal* as a Nom. also, as in *eññalum...cellumbōl* [KG, Vals., l. 411], *eññal vanṇūdu* [C Bh, p. 315], *eññal centru* [Girij., p. 3].

4. എമ്മിൽ *em-m-il* [RC, 269] with the “oblique” base *em-* [cf. Old Tam. *em-*] is perhaps an imitation of Tam. usage. cf. also ഒരു പരവതിതാ ച ഞാനും എമ്മിൽ പ്രണയവിരോധം *oru paravanitā ca ñānum emmil prañayavirōdham* [L, 4, 11, cit.].

5. The inflexional base of the second person singular in Mal. is *ñin-* and not *un-* as in Tamil. This *ñin-* has been exclusively used in Mal. from the earliest known times, and therefore it may be definitely isolated as an archaism.

In the dative, it appears sometimes in the colloquial as ന്ന *ñinakku* with the cerebral *ṇ* which is perhaps due to the influence of the velar plosive *kk-* following.

6. The second person plural *ñiññal* of Mal. corresponds to the Middle Tam. *ñiñ-kal* [Old Tam. had only *ñir*, *ñiyir*].

But while the inflexional base in Middle Tam. is *un-kal* [Old Tam. *nim-* or *num-*], the Mal. inflexional base is *ñiññal-* itself, to which the “case”- terminations are annexed.

7. നിമ്മിൽ *nim-m-il* of RC 32, is a Tamilism [cf. old Tam. *num-*].

8. The only form of the plural reflexive pronoun *tām*, used today is *tammil*; but *tām* itself [very frequently in RC and in the works of the Paṇikkars], and the inflexional forms *tamukku*, *tammōḍu*, *tamme* occur in the texts.

9. The following syntactic uses of *tān* and *taññal* are old:—
(i) The merely “expletive” use as in രാമൻ തന്നെ പത്രം *rāmaṇ*

tannuḍe and ഭഗവൻ തനിക്ക് bhagavān tanikku. As a "poetic" device this usage exists even today; but instances like ഒന്നങ്ങൾ തന്നുടെ dantaṇṇaḷ tannuḍe [KG, Vals., l. 171], മന്ത്രികൾ തന്നുടെ mantṛigaḷ tannuḍe, where the singular tannuḍe is associated with plurals would be unusual in modern poetry.

(ii) tāne and taniye meaning "alone" have fallen into disuse.—സന്നിതും താനേ വരും tāne varum [Eḷ Bh], തനിയേ പരിഭവനം ചെല്ലുതിന്നു taniyē [Eḷ Bh].

(iii) taṇṇaḷ 'alone', as in gōkkaḷ taṇṇaḷe 'the cows of their own accord' [Eḷ Bh]; cf. also തങ്ങളേയ്" taṇṇaḷey in a tenth century inscription [TAS, V, p. 36].

(iv) taṇṇaḷ used emphatically, as in ഞങ്ങൾക്കു രാജാവു ഞങ്ങൾ തങ്ങൾ ṇaṇṇaḷ taṇṇaḷ 'we ourselves and none else' [KG, Kamsa-salg., l. 60].

(v) The use of instances like the following is no longer current today:—

ആയന്മാർ തന്നുടെ തന്നുടെ കന്നം തെളിച്ചു" tannuḍe tannuḍe [KG, Ulūkh.—Note the use of the singular tannuḍe in connection with the pl. subject].

മന്ത്രികളെല്ലാം തന്നുടെ തന്നുടെ [ib., Kamsam., l. 243]

തങ്ങളാൽ തങ്ങളാൽ ആയ സല്ലാരവും taṇṇaḷaḷ taṇṇaḷaḷ [Eḷ Bh]

തങ്ങൾക്കു തങ്ങൾക്കു" taṇṇaḷkku taṇṇaḷkku [ib.]

ജനങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടും താനാൻതം tāndānd'e [VR, p. 88]

തങ്ങളുടെ തങ്ങളുടെ പരിവാരത്തോടു taṇṇaḍe taṇṇaḍe [OT, p. 79]

10. The use of tān in contexts like അനുഗ്രഹിക്കാൻ നിഗ്രഹിക്കാൻ anugraḥikka tān nīgrahikka tān [Bh Bh, 1, p. 70], മഴ താൻ ഇരുട്ടു താൻ maḷa tān iruṭṭu tān [Eḷ Bh, p. 373] appears to be old.

11. The present-day colloquial use of tān for 'thou' [from nī tān with nī dropped] is at least as old as the period of the early campus: അന്നാരെന്നും തന്നാരെന്നും ṇān-ār-eṇṇum tān ār-eṇṇum [Rām. camp., Aṅg.].

On the whole, the pronominal forms of Mal. correspond to Early Middle Tam. forms except for (i) the palatal ṇ of ṇān, ṇāṇṇaḷ and ṇaṇṇaḷ; and (ii) the "oblique" nin- [sing.] and nīṇṇaḷ-[pl.].

CHAPTER IV.

VERBS.

1. BASES

1. Mal. verbal bases are mostly directly allied to Early Middle Tam. verb-bases. There are, however, a number of bases in Mal., which have no direct counterparts in Tamil or which evidence structural and semantic modifications. It may be said at once that not one of these unique indigenous verb-bases of Mal. can be said to be nearer related to any non-Tamil Dravidian speeches than to Tamil (particularly Middle Tam.).

(a) Some Mal. bases that do not have *direct* counterparts Tamil (or in any other known Dravidian speech) are the following.

അടര° adar- 'to be peeled off'	
അയക്ക° aya-kk- 'to send'	cf. Tam. aṣai-kk- 'to move'
കത്ത° katt- 'to burn'	„ kand- 'to be scorched'
കയർക്ക° kayar-kk- 'to be angry'	„ kayar 'astringency'
കിളക്ക° kiḷaḥ-kk- 'to be corroded'	
കിഴക്ക° kiḷukk- 'to knock on the head'	„ kiḷ 'below'
കിളളക്ക° kiḷai-kk- 'to dig out'	„
കിളളക്ക° kiḷai-kk- 'to grow old'	„ kiḷavan, etc
കേഴ° kēḷ- 'to weep'	„ kēv- 'to gasp'
കുടൈ° kuḍai- 'to fling out hands, etc.'	
കൊതിയ്ക്ക° kodi-kk- 'to be greedy'	
ചാട്ട° cāṭ- 'to leap'	
ചുമയ്ക്ക° cumai-kk- 'to cough'	„ tumm 'to sneeze'
[or ഉമയ്ക്ക° of KG]	
ചെങ്ങ° ceṇṇ- 'to grow red'	„ cem- 'red'
ചെത്ത° cett- 'to cut'	„ cedukk-
തമിഴ° tamīḷ [as in tamiṇṇ-in KG]	
തറ° tar- 'to sink'	
തികക്ക° tiga-kk- 'to be boiled, as milk'	
തിരൈ° tigai- 'to be completed, filled'	
തിരൈ° tirai- 'to search for'	
തിരക്ക° tirakk- 'to inquire'	

തുനി 'to venture'	„ tuni-'to resolve'
തുരക്കു tura-kk-'to bore'	„ turuv-
തുറിക്കു tūri-kk-'to bulge out, as eyes, etc.'	
തുറു tūr-'to defecate'	„ tūr-'to drizzle'
തെണ്ടു tend-'to roam about like a beggar'	„ tend=tēd-[in the 15th c. Nāiḍadam.]
തേകു tēg-'to bale up water'.	
തെളിക്കു telī-kk-'to drive cattle'.	
തൊഴിക്കു toḷi-kk-'to beat the breast'.	
നീരണ്ടു nīraṇṇ-	„ n'irai 'row'.
പാക്കു pāṛkk-'to live, reside'	
പിഴുകു piḷug-'to slip off'	
പുലമ്പു pulamb-'to appear'	„ pula-p-paḍ and pulam 'field'.
പുലാൻ pulāṇṇ-'to be uprooted'	
പൊട്ടു poṭṭ-'to break,' 'to sprout out'	„ poḍi-
പൊലിക്കു poli-kk-'to -extinguish'	
പൊന്ത pond-'to rise'	
മാന്ത māṇḍ-'to scratch'	
മിണ്ടു miṇḍ-'to utter words'	„ miṇumiṇukk 'to utter words indistinctly'
മുളു mūḷ-'to hum'	
മേട് mēḍ-'to hammer'	
മുഷി muṣi 'to be soiled' > 'to be estranged'	„ mūḷkku.
വിശക്കു viśa-kk-'to feel hungry	„ viyai-'to desire'.

(b) Some Malayāḷam verb-bases showing structural peculiarities are the following:—

അനങ്ങു anaṇṇ-'to be moved'-	cf. Tamil alaṅg
അമ്പു anb 'to love' [as a verb]	„ „ anbu [noun]
എത്തു ett-'to reach'	cf. Tamil eṭṭ-and att-
ഉഴക്കു ū-kk-'to shed water'	„ „ ugu-kk-
ഇട് iḍ-'to be joined'	„ „ iḍ-
ഏകു ēg-'to order'	„ „ ēv-
ഏകു ēṣ-'to be like'	„ „ ēy-
ഓലു ōl-'to flow'	„ „ ōli-kk-

കലർ kalar- 'to be mingled'	„ „	kala-kk-
കേൾ kōr- 'to draw up water'	„ „	kōl-
ചവിട്ട് caviṭṭ- 'to tread on'	„ „	cavatt-
ചൂണ്ടു cūṇḍ- 'to point at'	„ „	cutṭ-
തണുക്കു taṇu-kk- 'to become cold'	„ „	taṇbu 'cold' ness'
തഴുകു taḷug- 'to embrace'	„ „	taḷuv-
തിവീരം nīvir- 'to rise'	„ „	nīmir-
തൂഴ് നൂല്- 'to creep through'	„ „	nūlai-
തിങ്ങു tiṅṅ- 'to be crowded'	„ „	tiraṅg-
പകർ paḡar- 'to be transferred'	„ „	peyar-
പരുക്കു paḍu-kk- 'to be soft'	„ „	paḍuṅg-
പാർക്കു pāy-kk- 'to cause to spread'	„ „	pācc-
പുക്കു pūg- 'to enter'	„ „	pug-
പുതുക്കു puḍug- 'to be renewed'	„ „	pudu-kk- 'to renew'
പണി paṇi- 'to work' [as a verb]	„ „	paṇi 'work'
ചിമ്പു cimb-, cimm- 'to wink'	„ „	cimiṭṭ-
തീരി tiri- 'to understand'	„ „	teri-
ചെരുമാറു perumār- 'to go about' 'to treat about'	„ „	parimār-
[also old parimār and parumār-]		
തുടങ്ങു tuḍaṅṅ- 'to begin'	„ „	toḍaṅg-
തുടരൂ tuḍar- 'to follow, continue'	„ „	toḍar-
പെണ്ണു peṇṇ- [in KG]	„ „	paṇṇ-
വീയു vīy- [past stems vīd- and vīyī]	„ „	vīṣ-
മുങ്ങു muṅṅ- 'to be immersed'	„ „	muḷug-
വിടു vīḍ- 'to be returned, recouped'	„ „	mīl-

വേണം vēṇ- 'to wish for'	„ „	vēṇḍ-
മേടിക്കു mēḍi-kk- 'to receive'	causative	vēṇḍuvi
കെട്ടുതു keḍutt- 'to extinguish'	„ „	keḍ- 'to be destroyed'
പൊക്കു pokk- 'to cause to rise'	„ „	only poṅḡ- 'to rise' and the noun pokkam.

(c) The following Malayālam bases show semantic variations or developments.

കോലം kōl- [used in a general sense, as in campu മേളം കോലം mēḷam kōlum, ഭാഗി കോലം bhaṅṅi kōlum, E]'s വിസ്മയം കോലം vismayam kōlum, ഭക്തി കോലം bhakti kōlum].

തൈക്കു tai-kk- 'to beat'; in Tamil the word is not used for 'blows, given to persons in a fight'.

ഓങ്ങു ōṅṅ- has the generalised meaning 'to attempt' in Old Malayālam; Tamil ōṅṅ- means 'to lift up' 'raise', etc.

പുലമ്പു pulamb- 'to appear' [as in പുലമ്പിടേണം അമ്പിൽ എൻ തമ്പരാനേ pulambīḍēṇam anbil en tamburāṇē] owes its meaning to contamination with പുലപ്പെടുക pula-p-peḍ- 'to be exposed, to appear'. Malayālam pulamb- with the meaning 'to prattle' corresponds of course to the Tamil word.

കേൾക്കു kēḷ-kk- has in Malayālam only the meaning 'to hear'; Tamil shows 'to hear' and 'to ask'.

നന്നു nann- in Malayālam means 'to consider' [in works like KG and E]], but Tamil nann- signifies 'to be attached to'.

പിണങ്ങു piṇaṅṅ- in Malayālam means 'to be at sulks' 'to break off relations', while Tamil piṇaṅṅ- signifies only 'to be intertwined.'

പോരിനാഞ്ഞുവന്നു pōrin-āṅṅu [Irupatt. Rām., 7, 7] shows a generalised meaning.

Malayalam ഉഴറു uḷar- signifies 'to go in a hurry' 'to be in a hurry', while the Tamil word means 'to move about', 'to be disturbed', etc.

(d) The following are compounds peculiar to Malayālam:—

Old ചെവിക്കൊരം *cevi-k-koḷ*-, യാത്രാക്കുട്ടി *yātrākk-*, വേറിരിക്കു *vēṛirikk*, കോഴപ്പേട് *kōḷapped-*, നീക്കൊരം *n'īkkoḷ*.

Old and New Malayālam മതിവൽ *madi-var*-, മതിയാകു *madi-y-āg-*, ചഞ്ചോട് *cāñcād-* [perhaps influenced by Skt. *cāncalya*], തലോട് *talōḍ*, പിടിപെട് *piḍi-peḍ-*.

കരയേറു *kara-y-ēr-*, കരേറു *karēr-*, കേറു *kēr-*, കയറു *kayaṛ-* 'to climb'.

kayaṛ- or *kēr-* 'to climb' does not occur in US, in Līl., in the works of Niraṇam Paṇikkars, in RC or in Eḷ's works; on the other hand, the exclusive form in these works is the full compound *karayēr-* or its Mal. contraction *karēr-*.

karēr- has disappeared from the modern speech [completely, perhaps, from about the beginning of the 19th century]. *kēr-*, *kayaṛ-* began to appear by about the beginning of the New Mal. era, and gradually ousted the older *karēr-* and *karayēr-*.

kara-y-ēr- has the literal meaning 'to get ashore' and the figurative meanings 'to be saved' 'to attain salvation' in Middle Tamil. In Mal., the signification had early developed into the generalised idea of 'ascending' 'climbing', used both literally and figuratively. Structurally, it appears both as *kara-y-ēr* and as *karēr*. US [e. g., I, 21], the Paṇikkars [e. g. KR, Utt., 324], RC [e. g., 719], the campus and Eḷ exclusively use *karayēr* or *karēr*; *kayaṛ* or *kēr* is not to be met with in any of these texts.

മാ കര കരയേറുവാനായ് *maṛu kare karayēruvānāy* [Bhāg, p. 50] shows how *karēr-* had become a well-fused compound not merely in structure but in meaning too, since the original force of *kara* of *karēr* should have been lost sight of in a phrase like this.

A Travancore State document, written in the colloquial style of the early 16th century has മണ്ഡപത്തിൽ കരയേറി *maṇḍapattil karayēṛi* [KSP, I, p. 24].

I find a few instances of കയറ *kayaṛ-* beside *karēr-* in Bh Bh, [e. g. in volume 2, p. 12], but I do not know whether these words may not have been introduced by the editor who had to fill up

1 cf. തെൻകരയേറക [KR, Kisk, 297] where the literal meaning is conspicuous.

several gaps in editing this volume. One may roughly say that, till about the time of Eḷuttaṣṣan, karēṛ- was used in literature to the exclusion of kayar- or kēṛ-. One of the editions of Pūṇḍanam's Jñānappāna shows an instance of kayar-. This was in the sixteenth century i. e. the period of Eḷ. who (let it be said) avoids using kayar- or kēṛ-. The 17th century Paḍappāṭṭu [p. 25] uses karēṛ-; VR has both forms [pp. 3 and 269]; Kuṇḍan in the 18th century uses the older karēṛ- [ആൽത്തറമേൽ കരേറി, OT, p. 19; ഗുളമതിൽ മറച്ച കരേററി വരികും gaḷamadil māla karēṭṭi varikkum, OT, p. 71], beside kēṛ- [മടിയിൽ കോം മാറ്റിയil kēṛum, OT, p. 60]; Rāmapurattu Vāriyar uses both kayar- and kēṛ- [Kuc. vaṇji]. Today, karēṛ- has disappeared from the colloquial, and kayar- or kēṛ- alone is used.

kayar-or kēṛ- 'to ascend' is non-existent in any of the Dravidian speeches. It is noteworthy that the verb kayar-in Mal. is of comparatively late occurrence in the texts [perhaps colloquial, to begin with] and that it gradually replaced karēṛ-of the older texts. In view of these facts I am inclined to ask whether kēṛ-may not have been popularly derived from karēṛ-through colloquial forms like കറയ്ക്കേറു karaikkēṛu [cf. കരക്കേററി in Bh Bh, 2, p. 73 and Kuṇḍan's കരക്കേറി karakēṛi in Irup. Bhāg., 21, 30] which may have been wrongly regarded as being constituted of kara and kēṛ, though really karaikkēṛ- is karaikk-[the dative of kara] followed by ēṛ-.

In the formation of popular kayar-with the meaning 'to climb as with a rope,' the noun kayaru 'rope' [Tam. kayir] may have also exercised some influence.

2. Unique Mal. verb-forms derived from bases common to Tam. and Mal:—

(a) al and il regarded as kuṛippuvinaḷ bases show in Tam. the conj. participles allādu, illādu, anṛi and inṛi; the rel. participles allāda, illāda; alan, ilan, alen, ilen, etc. with personal endings; and the generalised negative particles alla and illai.

Mal. has, besides all these except the conj. participles anṛi and the forms with the personal endings, developed a few unique formations with tense-affixes.

അല്ലായന്നു allāyunn̄u

അല്ലാഞ്ഞു allāññu

or

അല്ലയംഞ്ഞു allayññu

അല്ലായ്കിൽ allāygil

or

അല്ലയംയ്കിൽ allayāygil

അല്ലായ്ക allāyga

ഇല്ലായന്നു illāyunn̄u

ഇല്ലാഞ്ഞു illāññu

or

ഇല്ലയംഞ്ഞു illayññu

ഇല്ലായ്കിൽ illāygil

or

ഇല്ലയംയ്കിൽ illayāygil

ഇല്ലായ്ക illāyga

ഇല്ലായ്കൻ illāyvān

ഇല്ലായ്കമ്പോൾ illāyumbōl

For the structure of these forms, see below.

For Mal. ind'i, ind'i-y-e, enñi, enñi-y-ē from the conjunctive participle ind'i, see Chap. V, 2.

(b) aridu signifying 'what is difficult, scarce' in Tam. is connected with ār- in ār-uyir, etc., and with ariya.

Mal., has arudu corresponding to Tam. aridu, besides ār- precious < 'scarce' in compounds like ār-ōmal, and ariya as in ariya puṇyam [KBhr, p. 124], ariya tapasigaḷ [ib.], arippam 'scarcity' [Tam. aruppam] is another word which Old Mal. has, as in പരവതിനരിപ്പു paravadin-arippam [KBhr, p. 118].

This base is represented in other Dravidian languages also:—Telugu aridi 'what is rare, difficult to attain'; Kann.: aridu.

Besides the idea of 'difficulty' or 'impossibility' the semantic variation¹ of 'undesirability' or 'prohibition' exists for arudu in Mal. when it is associated with the older infinitive participle, as in ചെയ്യാരു ceyyarudu. In the works of the Paṇikkars, instances of the ceyyarudu type signify either 'difficulty' or 'prohibition' according to the context; in US and KG the contexts indicating 'prohibition' are non-existent. In Eḷ, both meanings are conveyed. In the later texts, the semantic development of 'prohibition' becomes more and dominant, though instances do continue to exist with the older meaning. In present-day Mal., the ceyyarudu type signifies only 'prohibition'.

This semantic evolution is true only of the type constituted of the old infinitive participle and arudu; the types of ചെയ്യാൻ

¹ When the "impossibility" is consciously created by an external agency, "prohibition" is the result.

രൂപം ceyvānarudu and of ചെയ്യാതിന്നരുതു ceyvadinn-arudu (existing in literary Mal. but not in the modern colloquial), only signify 'difficulty' or 'impossibility'.

In Mal., arud has also been treated from an early time as a verb-base capable of being conjugated with "negative" terminations and tense-affixes [for which, see below].

അരുതായെന്നു arudāyunṇādu [R C, 746].

അരുതാഞ്ഞു arudāññ- [R C, 132].

അരുതാത arudāda [R C, 34].

അറിയരുതാതെ aṛi-y-arudāde [T A S, IV, p. 46].

അരുതായ്വാൻ arudāyvān [K R, Utt., 200].

അരുതായ്വു arudāyga

All these, except arudātta, have now gone out of use from the colloquial.

(c) Some Mal. specialities of the verb-forms of *u* may be noted here:—

(i) As in Early Middle Tam. [cf. N, 339], *uṇḍu* [the third person "neuter" singular of *u*] is employed from the earliest period in connection with all genders, numbers and persons: *ñān ivide uṇḍu* [K Bhr]; *gandharvakulōttamar uṇḍu* [KR, Kišk., 211]. Echoes, however, of the Old Tam. usage are heard in the texts down till the New Mal. period: *uḷan*, *uḷar*, *uḷṇāyēn*, *uḷāḷāyā*, *uḷarāyān*, *uḷarāyār*. *ulav-āg*- 'to come to exist' appears to be a special Mal. formation.

(ii) *undu* is employed in modern Mal. in a larger number of contexts than in Tamil.

ā manuṣyan avide uṇḍu 'that man is there' would have to be expressed in Tamil by *a-m-manidan aṅg-irukkān*.

കളിച്ചുണ്ടു *kaḷiccundu* [K G], and common വരുന്നു *varunṇundu* 'is coming', വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു *varṇṇiṭṭundu* 'has come', വന്നിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു *varṇṇiṭṭundu-āy-irunṇu* 'had come', കേൾച്ചുണ്ടു *kēḷ-p-pundu* 'is heard' [US, I, 19], വരുവാൻ ഉണ്ടു *varuvānundu* 'is yet to come', illustrate some of the varied uses to which *undu* has been put in Mal.

ഉണ്ടു *undu*-*uḷḷu* is an old form occurring in KG.

(iii) Another peculiar Mal. use of *uṇḍu* is illustrated by the following:—

എന്നാൽ നിങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടു് വേണ്ടു് *enṇāḷ nīṇṇāḷ onṇ-uṇḍu vēṇḍu* [BhBh, 1, p. 107].

മുൻ നാൾ ഉണ്ടുണ്ടു *mūṇṇu nāḷ uṇḍu kaṇḍu* [US, 2, 80].

മന്നവൻ യുധിഷ്ഠിരൻ തന്നെയും ഉണ്ടൊക്കണ്ടു *mannavan yudhiṣṭhi-ran tannēyum uṇḍō kaṇḍu* [Eḷ Bh].

(iv) Forms like the following explain the origin of modern colloquial *ēḍāṇḍu*, *ārāṇḍu*, *eṇṇāṇḍu*:—

ദൈവം ഏതാനും ഉണ്ടു കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു *daivam eḍānum-uṇḍu kalpiccirikkunṇu* [BhBh, 1, p. 28].

ആരാനുമുണ്ടോ കണ്ടു *ārānum-uṇḍō kaṇḍu* [Rām. Camp., Sugr., 58].

ഏതാനും ഉണ്ടു് ഞാൻ കൊണ്ടുന്നു *eḍānum uṇḍu ṇān koṇḍanṇu* [K G, Vals., 1. 443].

എങ്ങാനുണ്ടോ പണ്ടു് ഉള്ളവയെ *eṇṇān-uṇḍō paṇḍ-uḷavāy* [O T, p. 89].

(d) വൽ *val* 'to be able' a so-called "defective" verb appearing in a few Tamil forms is represented in Mal. by quite a large number of forms:—

(i) The negatives *vallēn* [colla *vallēn* of the campus, for instance], *vallār* [poga *vallār* of KG], *vallāy* [Tam. *vallāmai*], *vallāle* 'not being able' have corresponding forms in Tamil. *vallān*, *vallār*, *vallēn* in Tamil, however, have both affirmative and negative meanings; Mal. *vallān* and *vallār* are exclusively negative.

(ii) The following Mal. forms, constructed according to characteristic Mal. principles of formation, are somewhat unique:—

വല്ലാഞ്ഞു *vallāṇṇu*

വല്ലുന്നതില്ല *vallunṇadilla* [KG, Vals., 1. 1536].

ചൊല്ലുവല്ല *colla vallū* [KG, Kṛṣṇōlp., 1. 548].

വല്ലവൻ ഞാൻ *valluvan ṇān* [US, 2, 26].

വല്ലില *vallila* [K G, Vals., 1. 1443].

വല്ലുകയില്ല *valluga-y-illa* [Bhāg, p. 80]

(iii) *valla*, the *kuṟippuvinaṭ* relative participle is used in Tam. only with the meaning 'that which is able', as in *Naccinār-kiniyar's vāṣittal valla pāṇanum*, but in Mal. from the earliest known times down till today, *valla* and the forms *vallavan*, *vallavaḷ*, *valladu* derived from *valla* are used only with a unique semantic "generalisation":—

വല്ലവണ്ണം valla vaṇṇam 'in some manner' [RC, 49].

വരുമോത്തോ വല്ല പ്രകാരം varumō bhaṭṭā valla prakāram
Would my husband come somehow? [KR, Sund, 109].

വല്ലകാര്യം valla kāryam [CBh].

വല്ലകണക്കിലും valla kaṇakkilum [E], Bh]. This use of *valla* and of forms like 'vallavan some man', *vallavaḷ* 'some woman', *vallavar* 'some person', *valladu* 'something' is common today in Mal.

(iv) Among the other forms of *val*, the only ones retained in the modern colloquial are the following; and even in these forms the primary meanings with which they were used in Old Mal. have undergone slight semantic alterations:—

വല്ലാത്ത vallātta in the modern colloquial means generally 'what is not capable of being dealt with, untractable, unmanageable'. Cf. *വല്ലാത്തതേപ്പനിവാക്കുകൾ vallātt-ēṣanivākkugaḷ* [Sabhā]; *വല്ലാത്തതരബദ്ധം vallātt-ōr-abaddham* [Sabhā, l. 939].

വല്ലാത്തു vallāṇḍu [← *vallade koṇḍu*] in contexts like *വല്ലാത്തായു* *vallāṇḍāy* would mean 'became helpless, physically, mentally, financially or otherwise'.

(e) *ol*, as a variant of *val*, appears in the following Mal. forms:—

പരശം പറവതിവളോട്ഘം paṛuṣam paṛavad-ivaḷōḍ-ollā [KR Sund, 118], *ചെയ്യല്ലാതെ ceyyollāde* [KG, Kṛṣṇāḍip., l. 234], *പോക്കല്ലാത്തു poḡ-ollāṇṇu* [KG, Gṛp., 2, l. 118], *ചെയ്യല്ലാതെ ceyyollā* [a type existing both in Old and in New Mal.], *ഘോരകാര്യം പ്രഭോ ollāda kāryam ōṛāyga* [E], Bh.]

Tamil has forms like *ollāyē* [Puram, 31], *ollān* [ib., 78], *ollādu* [Kuṛaḷ], *ollum*, *olvadu*, *ollā* [Kuṛaḷ].

The Mal. forms *ollāṇṇu* [Neg. finite verb], *ollāde* [as a Neg. Imp.], *ceyyollā* [as a general prohibitive] are all peculiar to this west coast dialect.

(f) *en-* 'to say' is represented in modern colloquial Mal. only by the following forms, all of which have ceased to convey the original verbal idea of 'saying' as such, and convey only certain generalised syntactic significations:—

എന്നു *enṇu* [as a syntactic expletive].

എന്നാൽ *enṇāl* ['but' 'however'; and as in *rāman enṇāl āru*, etc.].

എങ്കിൽ *eṅgil* 'if'.

എന്ന *enṇa* [as in *enṇapōle*, *enṇavan*, *puli enṇa mṛgam*, etc.]

The primary verbal idea, however, is conspicuous in forms employed in the older texts:—

എന്നേടം *enmēḍam* 'while saying' [RC]

എമ്മർ *emmar* 'they will say' [Lil., 4, 7, cit.]

എന്നാതു *ennādu* 'not saying' [KR, Utt., 330]

എന്നമ്പോൾ *ennumbōl* [KG]

എന്ന കേമന *enṇu kēcana* [Campus]

എന്നാർ 'they said' [E, Bh]

എന്നാൽ *enmān* 'for the purpose of' [E, Bh]

എന്നാൾ മനോജ്ഞാതി *enṇāl* [Irupatt. Rām., 5, 6]

എന്നാർ *enṇār* 'they said' [Nal. Āṭṭ., p. 417]

എന്ന *enṇu* [ib.]

എന്നാൻ *enmānilla* [ib., p. 434]

ena, the old infinitive participle, appears as *ene* in *Cākkyār bhāṣā*, but its primary signification has become discoloured.

ena with semantic discoloration and structural modification exists in forms like Old Mal. *cikkane*, and Old and New Mal. *poḍunṇane*.

(g) The following contexts in which forms of *āg-* are employed, are somewhat unique developments in Mal.

(i) *āvu* 'would be possible' [the aorist with *ū*], *āvō* [*āvu* + *ō*] having the force of 'I don't know'.

(ii) In instances like *paran'n'ūdāy*, [KG, Gōp., l. 530], *വന്നതായ് varṇṇūdāy* [ib., Kṛṣṇōlp., l. 250], *āy*, the past finite is a reinforcer.

(iii) *āy*, the conjunctive past participle, serves a number of syntactic functions in Mal:—*āy*-*k*-*koṇḍu* with the signification of different 'casal' endings [*avanum-āy pōy* (3rd case); *avanōḍ-āy-k-koṇḍu paraññu* (communicative case); *avannāy-k-koṇḍu nālgi* (4th case)]; *āy* in the compound formations [*āyirikkunñu*, *āyirunñu*, *āyirikkum*, and their connected verb-forms]; *āyāvu* [as in KG അങ്ങനെയൊക്കെ അങ്ങനെ *āyunnā*] *āyāvū* *ñāññā* 'how we wish we became males!'].

(iv) *ām* [*āgum*], the future relative participle, in the syntactic collocation *āmāru* [*ām-āru*] so frequently appearing in Old Mal. and E.; and *-āmadu* in contexts like *raṇḍ-ām-adu*.

(v) *ārān* [Mokṣad., l. 6] 'somebody', with its final *ān* derived from the concessive *ān-um* [see the section on "Conditionals and Concessives" below.]

(vi) The suffix *-vān* as in *uṇḍō-vān*, expressive of 'doubt or 'surprise', derived from *-ān* [*āyin*, the conditional (with *-in*) of *āg*-], with the permanent incorporation of a dorsal glide.

(vii) Compound forms constituted of the old infinitive participle and *-āg*, like *kāṇ-āg*, *ceyy-āg*, *na'dakk-āg*, were common in Old Mal. and in all the earlier stages of New Mal.

The following forms of this type are frequently met with in the texts:—കാണാകുന്നു *kāṇāgunñu*, കാണായ് *kāṇāy*, the future കാണാക *kāṇāgum* always contracted to കാണാം *kāṇām* and used (also today) syntactically with special significations [see below], കാണാകിൽ *kāṇāgil*, കാണാകേണം *kāṇāgēṇam*.

(viii) *āvu* in optatives like *punarnāvu*, *kaṇḍāvu*, *vanñā-vūdu*, etc.

3. I give below a few of the prominent verb-bases which once were current in Malayalam but which have now practically disappeared:—

kē-, *karēr*-, *ōr*- 'to consider', *vāykk*- 'to increase', *amar* *kidaikk*-, *iḷkk*- 'to drag', *nū*-. [past stem *nūṇ*- < *nū*nd-], *por*- 'to fight' [modern *porud*-], *piḷug*-, *mālg*-, *iyal*-, *vīy*-, *tāv*-, *vel*-, *taḷug*-, *ulāv*-[mod. *ulatt*-] *pārkku*-. [as in *trkkaṇ pārkk*-, etc], *ēs*-, *ñann*-, *penn*-. [in Ceruṣṣēri's works, particularly], *igal kitt*-, *kuṛi-k-ko*-, *cevi-k-ko*-, *onñ*-. [as a verb], *yātrakk*-,

araikk-, mīl, tiga-kk- 'of milk, to be boiled', ceññ- 'to become red', ira-kk- 'to die' [in Eḷ Bh], poli-kk-, uḷar-, iḷai-kk-, mugai-kk-, kaḷi-kk- [as in kaṇṭham piriccu kaḷikk-], iyal-, pulamb-ol, mett-, tañj-, tōy, parug-, pēṣ, payatt-, vaya-kk-, ēg-, ūkk-uḷal-, talapped-, kōlapped-, kōl-, tapped-, cuvatt-, mig-.

4. The following transitive verb-bases which form their past stems with -tt have fallen into desuetude in New Malayāḷam, having been replaced by transitive bases [having -tt-] which form their past stems with -i-.

Bases with semi-permanent kārita-kk-.

Bases with -tt-;

Past stems with -tt-.

Past stems with -i-.

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| (1) അറുതിപ്പെടുകനവൻ
arudi pedukkunnavan [KR, Ār.,
117 and K G] —
കൊലപ്പെടുത്തുക kola-p-peḍuttu
KG, Kṛṣṇolp., l. 674] | peḍu-tt-i- |
| (2) ഉയർത്തവനെ uyarttavane [KR,
Bāl., 26] — | uyar-tt-i- |
| (3) താഴ്ത്തുക taḷttadum [KR, Ār., 22] — | taḷ-tt-i- |
| (4) വാഴ്ത്തേൻ vaḷarttēn [KR, Bāl., 249] — | vaḷar-tt-i- |
| (5) അമാക്കം amaṛkkam [Candr., 3, 97], കരം അമാക്കം
karam amarṭtu [Eḷ Bh] — | amar-tt-i- |
| (6) തളപ്പതിൽ taḷarppadinnu [K G] — | taḷar-tt-i- |
| (7) നീവർത്തു nīviṛttu [Kir. Kilipp., 4,
l. 29] — | n'ivar-tt-i- |
| (8) നീരച്ച n'iraccu [Naiṣ. camp.] — | n'iratt-i- |
| (9) വിടുത്തു viḍuttu [KG, Vals., l. 734] — | viḍar-tt-i- |

Among these, peḍukku-was almost exclusive in the texts down till the New Malayāḷam period; taḷkk-, uyar-kk-, n'iraikk-, nīviṛkk- are all purely Old Malayāḷam bases, while the past forms of vaḷar-kk-, amaṛkk- and peḍukk were occasionally used by New Malayāḷam writers [cf. OT, p. 464 amarṭtum; vaḷarttu in ib., p. 482; kodi vaḷar-kkum in Kottār.Āṭṭ., p. 100].

It may be noted that the bases with -tt (having their past with -i-) already existed in Early Middle Tamil and in Old Malayāḷam.

5. The formation of transitive verb-bases from intransitive ones in Malayalam is in the main guided by the same rules as in Tamil.

So far as causatives proper in Malayalam are concerned, Malayalam is in agreement with Middle Tamil.

The most common and frequent method of causative formation in Malayalam is illustrated by the following instances occurring in the old texts and inscriptions:—

ചെയ്യിച്ചു ceyyiccu, ചെയ്യിക്കുവൻ ceyyikka-k-kaḍavar [TAS, V, p. 35—10th c.]

ചെലുത്തിച്ചു celutticcu [TAS, II, p. 49—10th c.].

ചേവിച്ചു cēviccu [= ceyviccu] } [TAS, IV, p. 151—13th c.]
 മേവിച്ചു mēviccu [= mēyviccu] }

നടത്തിച്ചു n'aḍatticcu

എറിച്ചു ēṟiccu

എറക്കിച്ചു eṟakkiccu

എഴുനള്ളിച്ചു eḷunṇaḷliccu

ഇടുവിച്ചു iḍuviccu [ib.];

വിടുവിപ്പൻ viḍuvippān [Bh Bh, I, p. 28].

പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചു puṟappeduviccum [Bh Bh, I, p. 67].

ഇടിയിച്ചതു iḍiyiccadu [<iḍu-vi-ccadu] [CAR, II, p. 16].

കഴിയിപ്പിച്ചൻ kaḷiyippiccār [<kaḷivi-ppiccār] [Naiṣ. camp.]

ചെയ്യിക്കേണമെന്നു ceyyikkēṇamen'n'u and ചെയ്യിച്ചു ceyviccu
 in 17th c. Travancore dynastic records [KSP, I, p. 22].

അരുളിച്ചിച്ച് aruḷiviccu [KSP, I, p. 23].

തൊടിയിച്ചു toḍiyiccu [Girij., p. 20]

The ചെയ്യിക്കു ceyyikk- type is, I think, normally descended from Middle Tamil ¹ ceyvikk- for the following reasons:—

(i) -vi definitely appears in Mal. വിടുവിക്കു viḍuvikk-, പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കു puṟappeduvikk-, though the rapid colloquial has വിടിക്കു viḍikk-, etc.

(ii) Phonetically, -u-vi or -vi may become reduced to i or i on account of the unstable nature of the bilabial v. For the instability of v, cf. Mal. tōlvi > tōli

„ kēlvi > kēli

„ oḍuvān > oḍān

„ pāḍuvin > pāḍin

¹ An early Middle Tamil inscription of the 11th century [SII, II, p. 106] shows വെട്ടിത്തു “having caused to be inscribed”.

(iii) The occurrence of -pp-i in the causatives of Kārita bases points to the old sandhi of -kk [Kārita affix]+v-i= -pp-i [see my DS].

A very important point in connection with Mal. causatives like *ceyyikk-* and *viḍuvikk-*, is their immediate relationship with Tam. causative bases with *-vi-* and *-ppi-*. Now, these causative endings are conspicuous by their absence in Old Tamil. None of the Śāṅgam works show such bases, except *Paripāḍal* which, as I have shown in my MOTV, evidences some linguistic peculiarities of the Middle Tamil period. It is in the works of the Āḷvars and the Śaivites that causative bases with *-vi-*, *-bi-* and *-ppi-* crop up abundantly in Tamil literature. The primary causative affix *-vi-* [*-bi-* and *-ppi-* are sandhi-modified variants] was perhaps isolated as such from original formations of the type of *pāḍu-v-i*, in which the causative force was conferred by *ī* [shortened afterwards], the *v* immediately before it arising as a glide after the back vowel *u*. The existence in Old Tamil of causatives with *ī*, *i* directly annexed to the base as in *koḷī* with its [conjunctive participle appearing as *koḷ-ī-i*], which in later literature [cf. *Nāḷaḍi*] assumes the form *koḷ-u-v-* strengthens this suggestion regarding the origin of the Middle Tamil causative affix *vi-*.

It is remarkable that the Mal. causatives are directly related to these Midde Tamil affixes.

2. PERSONAL ENDINGS OF TENSE FORMS.

1. The earliest texts and inscriptions generally use tense-forms with personal endings corresponding to those of Middle Tamil, though there are not wanting instances illustrating the absence of personal terminations.

These endings are the following:—

First person sing. ēn, future an; pl. ōm. ¹

Second „ „ āy, ā (with the elision of -y).
pl. īr.

Third "rational sing." æn, æl; pl. ær [and ar for the future].

„ “irrational” sing. adu; and, rarely, pl. a, ava, ana.

1 Old Tamil had no *əoo*; Old Malayalam texts, wherever they use the first person pl. termination, have only *əoo*.

It will be noted that these personal endings are all Middle Tamil ones; the Old Tamil. -an-en, -an-am, -an-ai, -an-ir, -an-an, -an-ar, -an-ru [i.e., with the cariyai -an followed by personal endings with short vowels] are absent in Mal. except in what one might regard as a few unique Tamilisms¹ as in മൊഴിത്തൻ *moḷind-an-an* [RC, 11], പുകത്തൻ *pugund-an-an* [KR, Ār. 11].

Nor does Mal. have the Old Tamil future first person singular -al, in the stead of which the west coast dialect uses the corresponding Middle Tamil -an.

2. The y of the second person singular -āy, was often elided in Old Mal. :—

വെൻറ vend'ā, മന്നിനാ māṭṭinā [US, 1, 40]

വസിച്ഛ vasiṭṭā [KR, Kišk. 102]

ചെയ്ത ceyvā [K Bhāg. p. 267]

നീയം മന്നാ māṇānā [Rām camp, Sugr. , 65]

പാരാ pārā [Imp., in KR]

3. Though personal endings for tense-forms were common in the Old Mal. texts, there do exist instances in these texts of finites without personal terminations. This absence of terminations gradually affects more and more categories of finites with the passing of time. There is a gradualness in the dropping of personal endings from period to period. As will be seen below, all the types for which personal endings are envisaged by Lil. do not have these endings in KG, and not all the types of KG showing personal endings are represented in E. This gradualness may have been purely literary; but it is quite possible that it may have mirrored, though chronologically at belated stages, a gradually increasing tendency in the regional and communal colloquials to drop these personal endings.

4. I shall first give instances from the texts of tense-forms without personal terminations.

(a) US has some like the following: ആരിയപ്പട്ടർ പോയ് āriyap-
paṭṭar pōyi [2, 45];—എതൽവംതം ഉണ്ടായിപോൽ ētal vamaṁ
uṇḍāyi pōl [1, 26], പങ്കോഴിപ്പുകി pūṅgōḷi kūgi [1, 6].

¹ Lil. I, 1, comm., points out that the -an- [described in Tamil gram-
mars as a ചാരിയെ or augment] in മൊഴിത്തൻ etc. is absent in Mal.

As for the types of personal endings employed in US for tense-forms, see below.

(b) It would be interesting to examine the value of the evidence furnished by the fourteenth-century grammar Līl. on the question of personal endings for tense-forms.

(i) Śilpa 2, 24, comm., refers to forms with and without personal endings.

(ii) Śilpa 2, 25, comm., expressly adverts to the absence of personal endings in the "neuter" tense-forms more than in the others.

(iii) In the citations furnished by the commentaries, there are instances of the absence of personal endings for tense-forms:—

അതേ! കണ്ടു ade! kaṇḍu [3, 8]

ചെങ്ങിക്കടാക്ഷം ceṇṇī kaṭākṣam [4, 2]

അതുവെളിയായ" adu vēliyāy [4, p. 49]

ഞാനും ഒന്നും അല്ലലായീ nānum-ond'-allalāyī [ib.]

(iv) The personal endings allowed expressly or impliedly by this grammar are of many types, not being restricted to a few as in Eḷ (for which, see below). Instances exist like വീളുവോം vīlvom [7, p. 54]; താരാനെ tāraṇō [neg.-7, p. 54]; മിങ്ങൂ മിṇḍū [4, p. 39]; നിമ്മിയാഞ്ഞാൻ nirmmiyāññān [4, p. 38]; ഉണർ uṇmar, വരുവർ varuvar, കൊടുവർ koḷvar [future form—I, 1, comm.].

Third personal present tense forms with personal endings appear in Līl., as in other Mal. texts, only as participials:—ഉണ്ണി ഞാൻ uṇṇinṇōr is given in 1, 1, comm., as corresponding to the Tam. present tense form ഉണ്ണാനിൻ അൻ uṇṇānind'anar which latter form is impliedly prohibited for Mal. by Līl. here. [Kappāṣṣan's use of വളരാനിൻ vaḷarānind', ചൊല്ലാനിൻ collānind' (see below) is definitely therefore an imitation of Tam. usage].

(v) A very significant observation is made by Līl. in the commentary on the third sūtra of the second śilpa:—nanu "vandān" "irundān".. ityādikam bhāṣante keraḷā hīnajāṭiyāh "(it may be said that) low castes in Malabar do say "vandān" "irundān."

Though the context in which this incidental observation is made refers to the consonant group ṛd (and its Mal. develop-

ment *n'n*), the fact that the author (or the commentator) attributes forms like these with personal endings to the "low castes" of Malabar is, I think, significant in indicating that the personal endings had not during this period completely disappeared in all communal colloquials. Apparently, the development of characteristic Mal. features had not been uniform in all communal (and regional) colloquials.

(c) Some instances from RC are the following:—

നകൻ മുട്ടിക്കുൻ ചോണിതമേ *muḍikkunṇu* [706]; കടലും കലുങ്ങി *kuluṅṅi* [773]; വെറുപ്പു വന്നു *varṇu* [392]; കേരം എതിർത്തു *edirttu* [212]. There are also instances in which the expletive *idu* appears instead of the personal endings: നിലച്ചിതക്കപികലകളു *nilaccid-a-k-kapikulaṅgaḷum* [362], etc.

(d) KR¹ has instances, like the following, without personal terminations for finite tense-forms:—

ഭൂതലം ഇളകി *iḷagi* [Bāl., 228], വിറച്ചിതു തിരികൾ *viṛaccidu* [228], പുകഞ്ഞിത്തരകൾ *pugaṇṇid-ṣṣagaḷ* [228]; വിപ്രവരന്നാർ ആതികൾ കൂറി *ṣṣigaḷ kūri* [282]; വിശ്വമിത്രൻ എഴുന്നള്ളി *eḷunṇaruḷi* [63]; ദേവകൾ കൂടി *kūḍi* [62]; ജഗത്തു നടുങ്ങി *ṇaḍuṅṅi* [62]; മുനിശിഷ്യാദികളെല്ലാം കാടി *ṛḍi* [83]; വീതി മഹാനിയമങ്ങൾ അനത്തും വിശ്വമിത്രൻ *viḍi mahāniyamāṇṇaḷ anattum viśvāmitraṇ* [234].

എഴുന്നള്ളി *eḷunṇaruḷi* [KR, Utt., 137], കുറവുണ്ടായോ *kuṛav-uṇḍāy-ō* [ib., 200], നിശിചരകലവരൻ അതിബലവാനായോ *niścara-kulavaran atibalavān-āyō* [ib.].

(e) Early inscriptional instances without the personal endings, though rare, do exist:—

കല്പിച്ച *kalpiccu* [TAS, VII, p. 112—14th c.]; പണിയം ചെയിച്ച *cēviccu* [< ceyviccu-TAS, IV, p. 151—13th c.]; മേവിച്ച *mēviccu* [< mēyviccu ib.]

5. Now I proceed to classify the types of tenses in which the personal terminations occur in the texts from US downwards.

(a) US has the following types:—

1st person sing. and pl. past endings: *vārttappettēṇ* [1, 24], *tēṇinōm ṇaṇṇaḷ* [1, 33], *kaṇḍōm* [2, 94].

1st person future sing. with an: *erivan* [2, 88], *aḷalvan* [ib.].

¹ K Bhag. has very many instances of finites without personal endings or with only the expletive *idu*.

2nd person sing. past :—*āḍi-k-konḍā*, *cend'ā* [2, 46]; *māṭṭinā*, *vend'ā* [1, 40]. The elision of final-y- is noteworthy; such forms occur in RC, in the works of the Paṇikkars and in the earlier campus.

3rd person past endings:— *var'nān* *vasantam* [1, 8], *kond'ān* [1, 10] *ōḍipponā* [1, 29], *uṇumkuḷiyum* *vaigund'udallō* [2, 2].

For the present tense, only the first person singular is met with: *tolind'ēn* [1, 39].

The second person plural *īr* of all tenses and the third person "irrational" plural ending -a-n-a- or -a are not met with in US.

Among the negatives, the third person -ā [used for singular and plural] occurs: *tārā* [2, 45], *oppam* *nillā* [2, 51], *kāṇam* *pōrā* [2, 57], *vārānidra* [2, 91]

One instance of *vallēn* occurs [1st person] in 2, 51; and in 1, 55 there occurs *pōrādō*.

idu as expletive for all persons:—*nānvaḷaṇ* *nund'idu* [1, 108], *kāyaṇkuḷavar* *mukkarikkind'udāgil* [1, 93].

(b) *Līlātilakam* envisages many types:—

The commentary on Sūtra 25 of Śilpa II refers to *vand'ēn*; *vand'ōm* and *vand'ēm*; *var'nā(y)*; *var'nīr*; *var'nāna*, *pōyana*; *varind'ēn* and *varind'ōn*; *kāṇun'nīr*; *kāṇind'ā(y)*

It may be observed that the first person plural-ēm should have been purely a Tamilism since (so far as I can see) this ending in Malayāḷam texts appears always as -ōm.

The commentary on Sūtra 1 of Śilpa I refers to *uṇḍār*; *uṇmar*, *koḷvar*; *uṇṇind'ōr*. *uṇṇind'ōr* is a participial treated more or less as a finite; it may be noted that the third person "rationals" in the present tense show in Malayāḷam only participials of this type (and not forms like *pōgun'nān*, etc.), whenever personal endings appear.

Among the passages cited in Līl., instances (like the following) of tense-forms with personal endings occur:—

Future : *kāṇmanō* [IV, 6], *aṇivan* [IV, 17]; *vīlvōm*; *emmar* [IV, 7].

Past : *kaṇḍēn* [IV, 15]; *maṇar'nā*; *kaṇḍā* [VII, 9].

Present : añjind'ēn [VII, 7].

Aorist negatives : vallēn [VIII, 5]; tāran [VII, 5], miṇḍaḷ [IV, 23].

(c) In RC, the following types are met with:—

Present : First person sing. and pl.: collind'ōm [29], muḍik-kur'ṇōm [563].

Second person sing.: muḍikkur'ṇāyō [802].

Third person sing. and pl.: only as participials like vīḷttur'rōr [344].

Past : First person sing. common.

Second person sing.: maṇaṇṇā(y) [646], connāy [84].

Third person "rational" sing. and pl. common.

„ "irrational" pl. vīḷndana [192], pagayttana [211].

Future : First person sing. with -an common.

„ plural: kiṭṭuvōm, oḍukkuvōm [42].

Second person sing.: ṇaragattil-iḷavāy [647].

Third „ pl: vīḷttuvar.

„ „ sing. and pl. irrationals only with -um.

Aorist negatives : First person sing. iḷayēnē [499]. Third person aḷiyān [49], aṇiyār [455].

For the expletive idu or udu appearing in the stead of personal endings, cf. ṇāṇṇaḷ pugundidu [101], arakkarn'añjāy avan avadarittudu [73].

(d) The Niraṇam Paṇikkars employ all personal endings, except the third person "rational" present tense endings.

1st person :—pōguriṇēn [KR, Bāl., 128], n'aḍaṇṇēn [KR, Ār., 48], ceyvōm [ib., 64], viḷuṇṇuvān ṇān [KR, Ār., 55], pugundōm [ib., 64], āgin'n'ōm [Kišk., 273].

2nd person :—n'ilppāy-ō [KR, Ār., 173], cinticcāy [ib., 192], ceydā [with elision of final-y, Kišk., 98]; connīr [ib. 320].

3rd person :—ṇiṇṇāna, n'iraṇṇāna [neuter pl., KR, Kišk., 143], connān [KR, Ār., 4], urattār [ib., 12].

The forms for the third person "rational" present are sometimes participials with personal endings, but not the finite tense-forms proper :—narag-eydiṇṇōr [KR, Kišk., 171].

Negative aorist forms like *vālēn* [KR, *Ār.*, 176], *aṛiyōm* [KR, *Kišk.*, 256], *oḷiyāy* [KR, *Kišk.*, 109], *vārān* [KR, *Kišk.*, 263], *vārār* [ib.], *poṛā* [ib., 269] occur.

The use of the neg. ending-*ā* for persons other than the third person "irrational" pl. is met with already :—*sīta nīnakku poruṇṇā* [KR, *Ār.*, 49], *bhagavati tān avaḷk-edioppā* [ib., 131], *piḷa vārā* [KR, *Bāl.*, 258].

Similarly, the characteristic Mal. negatives and the use of -illa for forming negatives also exist side by side with the above. The forms with-illa never show personal endings either here or in any Mal. texts whatsoever, unlike Middle Tamil.

Again, the expletive *idu* already appears in connection with tense-forms (without any other personal endings) of all persons :—*mahākalpaka vṛkṣādigaḷ āyidu* [KR, *Bāl.*, 35], *daśarathan koḍuttidu dānam* [ib. 49].

(e) In the fifteenth century works like KG and the earlier campus, the instances without personal endings are so frequent that one is led to postulate the view that the spoken language may have cast off these personal endings (at least in many areas) before this period.

Even in the literary tradition permitting the optional use of personal endings, there appears to have crept in a change after the time of Līl.; for, in KG, forms with the personal endings -ana or -a (for the third person "irrational" plural), *īr* (second person plural), and the aorist negative endings *āy* (second person sing.), *ōm* (first person plural) and *īr* (second person plural) have fallen into disuse.

(f) *Eḷuttaśśan* who uses tense-forms with and without personal endings, employs these endings only for the first person singular past, present and future [-an for future and *ēn* for the past and the present], for the third person rational past and rarely for the second person past and present sing.,

ōm [1st pers. pl.], *īr* [2nd pers. pl.], -ana or -a [3rd pers. neuter pl.] are absent; the present and future finites except for the first person sing., have no personal endings.

The only negative aorist ending, commonly employed for all persons and numbers, is -*ā*; others are absent, except the traditional *vallēn*, as in *colla vallēn*.

I have already adverted to the fact that KG does not show all the types of personal endings envisaged by Līl. By the time that the period of E_l is reached, a few other types also appear to have gone out of vogue in literature; for E_l does not have the following types not infrequent in KG:—Second person future sing., third person future plural like enmar, first person plurals with om, and the aorist negatives like nīllār, tārān, aṣiyāy.

Summing up, it may be said that

(a) there is a distinct difference between Old Mal. on the one hand and E_l on the other in the number and variety of the types of personal endings employed. The campus, KG and CBh already mark the transition in as much as they do not show all the types contemplated by Līl;

and (b) even in Old Mal., the following peculiarities¹ point to the fact that personal endings for tense-forms may have largely disappeared from the colloquial, at least in certain areas:—

(i) the extensive use of forms without personal endings in KG, CBh and the campus;

(ii) the occurrence even in US, RC, KR, KBhr and K Bhāg of instances without personal endings;

(iii) the use of idu or udu as an expletive (in the stead of personal endings) for tense-forms of all persons, indicating that even in the literature of the time personal endings were on the "road to ruin";

(iv) the conspicuous absence in literature of personal endings for the third person present forms;

¹ In some texts, the third personal ending is used in connection with finite verbs having other persons as their subjects:—

ഞങ്ങൾ ചൊൽവർ [K Bhāg, p 115]; ഞാൻഉളൻ [RC, 557]; നാം ഉളൻ [KR, Utt., 4]; നാംചൊൽവർ [KR, ഉത്തര 713]; നന്നായ് വഞ്ചി ച്ചുപോന്നാൻ ഇനിങ്ങൊൻ [KG, Balabhadra., l. 43]; ചൊല്ലിനാൻ നീ [KG]; പൊരപ്പൻ നി poṟuppan n'ī [ib.]; പരിചരിച്ചിടുമൊക്കെ നാൻ നി paricariccīḍumār-ākkinān n'ī [Rām. Camp., Sitāpar., 80]; നീ മുക്തിനിടീനാൻ n'ī mudir'n'n'īḍinān [Kaly., 32]; നി വരുത്തിനാൻ n'ī varuttinān [Nal. Aṭṭ].

(v) the gradual encroachment in Mal. by the -um future on "persons" other than the third person;

(vi) the explicit statement made by Līl that in Mal. literature, personal endings may or may not appear,—a fact which points possibly to the frequency of the absence of these endings in the colloquials.

It has been postulated that the absence of personal endings for tense-forms, characteristic of Mal., represents a stage anterior to that of the other Dravidian speeches all of which show personal endings. It has been claimed that personal endings never existed at all in the Mal. colloquial and that the appearance of these endings in early texts and documents was due to the influence of Tamil, which admittedly was predominant in the early history of Malabar.

One thing must surely be conceded: the use of all sorts of personal endings in the works of the Paṇikkars, or the envisaging by Līl of forms like vand'ēm, etc. can certainly not be reflective of the actual colloquial of the land, just as the presence of a few types of personal endings in Eḷ can in no way represent the colloquial of that period.

If personal endings existed in Mal., they must have disappeared from the colloquial (of at least a number of areas and communities) at an early period. This is indicated by (i) the existence even in the earliest texts of tense-forms without personal endings [see above for illustrations]; (ii) the explicit mention by the 14th century Līl. that personal endings were more frequently absent in "neuter" forms than in others,—a state of affairs which in all probability referred rather to literature than to the colloquial.

Having said this, I still think that there is no proof available for the position that the absence of the personal endings was a feature inherited by Mal. from the primitive Dravidian parent language, and that this lack of personal terminations therefore stands for a stage anterior to that of other Dravidian speeches.

What do we know, in the first place, of primitive Dravidian, except what could (very imperfectly indeed !) be reconstructed with the materials now available ? And, in view of the exis-

tence of numerous personal endings for tense-forms in all Dravidian languages except Mal., how could any reliance be placed upon mere *a priori* arguments to show that personal endings could not have been used in the primitive stages?

Secondly, even granting that primitive Dr. tolerated forms without personal endings, where is the proof for the position that Mal. inherited this feature? The condition of the West Coast speech before about the 9th and 10th centuries of the Xian era has now to be reconstructed with the only help now available viz. Middle Tamil, to which Mal. is most intimately related. And Middle Tamil does have personal endings for tense-forms.

While therefore there is reason for us to think that personal endings for tense-forms may have disappeared from at least certain regional and communal colloquials of Mal. before the 13th century, there is absolutely no proof for the theory that this absence of personal endings dates back to the primitive Dravidian stage. On the other hand, due weight has to be given to considerations like the following:—

(i) Aminidiv Mal., a dialect spoken by the Moplahs of the Aminidiv and Laccadiv islands, shows even today some personal endings, though in somewhat attenuated and mutilated shapes. The following illustrations are taken from the Aminidiv Mal. text of the "Parable of the Prodigal son", a gramophone record of which has been taken and preserved under the orders of the Madras Government:—തിന്നിന്ദാൻ tinnindān, ചൊല്ലിത്താൻ collindān, ഹായതാഡിന്തേൻ hāyadāyinēn, ഞാൻ ചെല്ലേനായിന nān ceydōṇāyina.

(ii) The persistence and frequency with which the first person sing. future forms with -an occur in the texts, together with the fact that the -um future encroached upon the sphere of the first person future only gradually (as the instances show) can hardly be explained otherwise than by postulating the deep-rooted character of the first person future personal ending -an in Mal.

There is also evidence of a gradual evolution of the absence of personal endings in literary tradition. The contrast between the types of personal endings used in KG on the one hand and those of E₁ on the other, for instance, would indicate this

evolution in literary tradition. The gradualness of the evolution points to the fact that personal endings may not have been exotic in Mal.

3. PRESENT TENSE.

1. The characteristic Mal. present tense ending *is-un'n' - < - und' - < ind' - <* an ending like *-g-ind'* of Middle Tamil. I have discussed these stages in detail in my HAP; I shall briefly summarise the facts below:—

(i) *-g-inr-* [appearing in Old Tamil texts in the past tense “neuter” forms like *ā-g-inru* [ā-g + in + d (u)] appears to have been first employed during the Middle Tam. period in the texts [i. e. from about the fourth or the fifth century A. D.] as a present tense ending to which personal terminations were annexed. That the original past tense value of *āginru* was forgotten is clear from the fact that this form is employed with a present tense force in some Old Tamil texts like *Aiṅṟunūru* and *Paripāḍal*. In the writings of the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavites during the early Middle Tamil period, *gind'* or *ginr-* appears profusely as a present tense ending followed by personal terminations. [cf. V, *Kriyā*, 3].

(ii) In early west coast inscriptions, forms with the present tense affix *ind'* [without the *-g-* of Tam. *-g-ind'*] appear, as in *ceyyind'a* [TAS, II, p. 191 (10th c.) and VII, p. 25 (12th c.)], *aruḷind'* [TAS, VII, p. 117], *koḷḷind'avar* [TAS, VII, p. 66].

(iii) This *ind'* of the west coast inscriptions and of some of the earlier texts normally changes [according to a rule¹ of Mal. Phonology], to *in'n'-and-un'n'-*, as attested by inscriptional instances like the following:—

വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്നു *vaccirikkun'n'adinnu* [TAS, V, p. 62—11th c.].

വരുന്ന *varun'n'a* [ib., IV, p. 86]—13th c.

വാണരുന്ന *vaṇṇaruḷun'n'a* [ib.]—13th c.

മീളുന്നതല്ലെന്നെ *mīḷin'n'* [TAS, VII, p. 92].

1. The change of *-i-* of *-in'n'-u-* to *-u-* is due to its unaccented position. For a similarly caused change, of, *ponninkudam* and *ponnuṅgudam*; *vādilkkal* and *vādukkal*.

2. The following present tense forms [with the ending *-ā-n'in'n'-or-āy-n'in'n'-*] occurring in some very old west coast inscriptions and also in KR correspond to the Middle Tam. present tense ending *-ā-n'in'd-* mentioned in N, 143 —

വളരായിനിന valarāyn'in'n'a [KR, Bāl, 48].

valarān'in'n'a [KR, Ār, 56].

ചെല്ലുനിന cellān'in'n'a [BhG, 13, 15].

നടവാനില്ല n'adavān'ilka [KR, Sund., 45].

This present tense ending never struck deep root in Mal. Līl. explicitly points it out [I, 1, comm.] as a Tamil ending.

4. PAST TENSE

The formation of the past stem with *-t-* [and its sandhi modifications] or with *-i-* is guided in Mal. by the same rules as in Tamil [cf. my MOTV]; but the following peculiarities in Mal. deserve notice.

1. The palatalisation of *-tt->-cc-*, *nd>ñ>ññ*, and the change of *nd'* and *n'd* to *n'n'* form features of Mal. phonology, the chronology of which I have referred to in my GL.

2. The sandhi change of original *-lnd-to-ṇṇ->-ṇ-*, as in the following, is another special Mal. development: — താണു *tāṇṇ-* [< *tāṇḍu < tāl-nd-, the past stem of tāl] or *tāṇ-* [US, II, 69], beside താന്നു *tān'n'-* [VR, p. 263]; ഇണു *iṇṇ-* [RC, 40]; ഓണു *viṇṇ-* [KR, Ār., 126] beside the more modern ഓന്നു *viṇ-* [US]; ഉമിണു *umiṇṇ-* [KR, Ār., 77] beside ഉമിഞ്ഞു *umiññu* [Rām. camp.]; പകുണു *pugaṇṇ-* [Rām. camp.] beside *pugaḷn'n'-* [E] Bh]; മകിണു *magiṇṇ-* [Rām. camp. Aṅg] beside *magiḷn'n'-* [E] Bh]; കമിണു *kamiṇṇ-* [Rām. camp.] beside *kamaḷn'n'-*; വാണുതട്ടന്നു *vāṇṇ-aruḷun'n'a* [TAS, IV, p. 86] beside *വാണു vāṇḍ-* [TAS, IV, p. 19 (12th c.); *n'ūṇ-* [< n'ūlnd] [Rām. camp.]; അണു *āṇṇ-* [Līl., cit., 1, 3] beside *ān'n'-*; അമിണു *amiṇṇ-* [ib.]; കേണു *kēṇṇ-* [KBhāg.] beside *kēṇ-*.

In modern speech, *viṇ-*, *vāṇ-*, *tāṇ-* [with reduction of *ṇṇ* to *ṇ*] are heard. In some areas *tān'n'-* instead of *tāṇ-*; *cūn'n'-* instead of *cūṇ-* also exist.

1 cf. ചൂന്നു *cūn'n'u* [RC, 763]; മുപ്പുവാണു *mūppu vān'n'e* in an early 17th c. document [KSP, I, p. 26].

3. The older past stems of *cār-*¹ and *kudaṛ-* were respectively *cār'n'-* [VR] and *kudaṛ'n'-* [E] Bh], while *cāri-* and *kudaṛi-* appear to be common today.

Regional variations in past stems also appear to exist. *pūṇḍ-* of North Mal. corresponds to *pūḷi* of the south, both meaning 'having cut open into slices'. *mūḷ-* 'to hum in approval' has both *mūḷ-i-* and *mūṇḍ-* as its past stems.

vīy 'to blow, as the wind' has in Malayāḷam two past stems, both used in Old Mal. texts : *vīd-* and *vīyi-*; but the alternative *vīṣ-* (which alone is used today) has always had *vīṣi-* for its past stem.

īr- 'to split' has *īr'n'-* and *īri-* for its past stems; the variation appears to be regional. *mudir'n'-* and *mudirtt-* are both used in the texts as the past stem of *raudir-*; in modern Mal. *mudir'n'-* is common.

4. *coll-* has the past stem *coll-i-*, on which are based tense-forms like *collinēn* > *connēn*, or *colli-y-ēn* [Bh Bh]; but the existence of forms like *connān*, *connēn* has led to the use of *connu* also without the personal ending, as in KG [e. g., *Kamsam*, l. 168.]

The past stem was also confused as *cond'-* [cf. *cond'āl* in US, II, 14], just as the past stem *van'n'* [< *vand-*] was often in old texts written wrongly as *vand'-*. In the citations of L, I find *പിറന്ദ'ാൻ* *piṛand'ān* [2, 11, comm.], *തന്'* *tand'* [for *tan'n'-*], *തുറന്'* *turaṇd'* [for *turaṇ'n'-*] in L, 4, 7 cit.

5. എഴുന്നിൽക്ക *eḷun'ilkk* is a very ancient Mal. compound verb base expressing the indispensable idea of 'standing up from a sitting to a rising posture'. The past stem of this compounded base appears normally as *eḷun'in'n'-* in several contexts in the works of the Niraṇam Paṇikkars [e. g. in KR, Ār.] and occurs in the 17th c. *Kirāt*, Kīlipp. 4, l. 72.

But the more modern *eḷun'eṭt'* also appears in US, KG and other works. Apparently, the compound nature of the base had been lost sight of, the base itself was written as *eḷun'ēlk-*, and

1 cf. ചൊന്നവർക്കു ചൊരിയുഴതിയൊലും മതി *cār'n'n'avarkku cāri-y-eḷudiyālum mādi* [KU, p. 37].

[on the analogy perhaps of the past stem $\bar{e}l-kk-$] the new stem $e|un'\bar{e}l-$ came to be used.

Colloquially, the base has undergone further alterations. By the sandhi of $l+n=n$ [cf. $t\bar{a}n- < t\bar{a}lnd-$], the base has assumed the form $e\bar{n}i\bar{k}k-$ [cf. എണിപ്പിച്ചു $e\bar{n}i\bar{p}piccu$ Bh Bh, 2, p. 88] and എണിറക്കം $e\bar{n}i\bar{l}-\bar{o}d\bar{i}$ [ib., 2, p. 90], with its past stem as $e\bar{n}i\bar{l}-$, which is sometimes still further contracted to $\bar{e}l-$ [Nāg. 2, 25].

5. Bh Bh uses past tense forms like മടങ്ങിയൻ $maḍaṅṅiyān$, കൊല്ലിയൻ $colliyān$, അടങ്ങിയൻ $aḍaṅṅiyān$, as if formed directly from relative participles of the type having $-iya$. Tam. does not usually show such finites, for which $aḍaṅginān$, etc. [with-in-] would ordinarily be used, the $aḍaṅgiyān$ type being regarded in Tamil as a participial noun; but $pōyān$, $pōyār$, $āyān$, $āyār$ occur in Tamil and in early Mal. $Maḍaṅṅiyān$, etc. were perhaps formed on the analogy of $pōyān$, $āyān$, common in early Mal.

$E|$ uses occasionally forms like മുറക്കിയൻ $muḍakkiyēn$ [Rām., p. 60], $muḍakkiyā|$ [ib., p. 61].

The "archaic" form പോയിൻ $pōyinēn$ occurs in KG, Rugm, l. 71; but this is perhaps unique.

5. THE FUTURE TENSE

Two types exist in Mal:—1. the $-um$ type denoting future and "aoristic" tense-significations; 2. the older type with $-v-$, $-m$ [Tam.-b-, after nasals of bases], $-pp-$, which type appears with personal endings.

The-um type

1. In Tamil, the tense with $-um$ appears only in connection with the third person singular "rational" [masculine and feminine] and third personal "irrational" singular and plural.

TC, 227 and N, 348 expressly prohibit the use of this tense in connection with the first person, the second person and the third person "rational" plural.

The $sūtra$ of TC deserves to be cited: $pallōr paḍarkkai munnilai tanmai-y-avvayin mūṇṇum n'iga|un-gālatu-c-ceyyum-enṇum ki|aviyoḍu ko||ā$.

1. I use the term "aorist" in its literal sense viz "indeterminate" or "undefined".

An important point to be noted from this particular sūtra is that the tense with -um is regarded as having the force of n'igal kā'am 'present tense'.

But this tense-signification does not appear to be exclusive according to Tolkāppiyam col.; for, sūtra 240 envisages an "aoristic" or "indeterminate" signification also: munnilai kālamum tōṇṇum iyarkai-y-emmurai-c-collu[m] nigaḷuṇ-gālattu meyn'n'ilai-p-podu-c-col kiḷattal vēṇḍum. The sūtra refers to actions which are true of the past, present and future, as in āyir-iyāṅum, etc. [cf. Mal. paṣu pullu tinnum].

In Middle Tamil the restriction of the use of the -um tense to the third person "rational" singular and to the third person "irrational" singular and plural continues [N, 348]; but the tense is described in N, 145 as denoting the "present" and "future" meanings [nigaḷpu and edirvu].

In the colloquial Tamil of today, the -um tense appears only (i) after "irrational" subjects [both singular and plural] and (ii) with "future" as well as indeterminate "eternal present" meanings.

The Old Tam. grammar TC thus envisages this tense as "present" and "aoristic", while Nannūl regards it as having "present" and "future" meanings; and in the colloquial today this type has "future" and "aoristic" values.

The primary signification was perhaps "aoristic" with a bias for the "present-future" values. Not only the Tamil type but the Telugu counterpart ceyun (which, be it noted here, is exactly as in Tam. used only for singular masculines and feminines and singular and plural "irrationals") has also "aoristic" values which may be interpreted according to the context as present, future or (rarely) past [see Āndhraśabdānuśāsana, II, p. 119]. The Kannaḍa counterpart with-g-um is also "aoristic" though used for all third personal forms [Kittel's Gr., p. 146].

I cannot for my part agree with the view that because TC describes it as a "present" tense, its primary signification was exclusively "present". In the first place TC itself envisages an "aoristic" value. Secondly, a "present" tense of this kind

could not have been limited to a few third personal forms. Thirdly, the evidence of the usage of the Telugu and Kannaḍa counterparts is definite in pointing to "aoristic" values. Nor could this type have been exclusively 'future', in view of the existence of a regular future type (with v, b, pp) in Tamil.

Everything therefore points to the conclusion that the -um tense was originally employed as an "aoristic" action-type with a "present-future" bias. Instances with -um in Śaṅgam texts like Puṛaṇānūru and Naṭṭiṇai have "indeterminate" values. On an examination of Puṛaṇānūru, for instance, I find that the -um type is commonly used as an aorist, though this may include a present tense force [cf. ceyyum-i-v- vigaḷē in 45; nel viḷaiyum, paḷam ūḷkkum, vaḷḷi-k- kiḷaṅgu viḷkkum in Verse 109]. Instances from Kalittogai (another Śaṅgam work) like el-vaḷai irai-y-ūrummē [I, 7, 16], though capable of being translated into the present or the future meanings, appear to be fundamentally "indeterminate" in tense-idea with a bias for the present or future meanings.

If it is asked why the use of this "aoristic" tense was restricted to the third person, I should answer that perhaps there were far more contexts in which the third person was associated with "eternal" or "habitual" actions than those connected with the first and the second persons.

Since Tam. had a regular future tense with -v-, -b-, -pp-, the "future" value ascribed to the -um type by the Nannūl Sūtra might have been isolated in Tamil from the "aoristic" type. Such a future value exists (besides other values) for Telugu ceyyun type. The Kannaḍa tense with -g-um allied to the type under reference, however, always had the aoristic value, and -g-um was employed in Kannaḍa for all third persons [as a development from the stage denoted by that of Tam. and Telugu, where it was restricted to certain forms of the third person, as pointed out above].

Coming to Mal., I note the following features:—

1. In the earliest texts, this tense appears only after the third person sing. and plural "rationals" and after the third

person singular and plural “irrationals”, the only difference between early Old Mal. and Tam. being that Mal. shows -um after third personal rational plurals also. The other “persons” are not generally associated with the -um tense in US, RC, KR, KBhr, Bh G.

ഇവരോടികളും എന്നെത്തറിയും ivar enne ariyum [KBhr, p. 116] where the -um finite is used for pallōr paḍarkkai [=third pers. rational pl.] for which it is prohibited expressly in Tamil.

കരക്കുപടയും കൊടിയമന്നവരും മുടിയും paḍayum mannavarum muḍiyum [RC, 63]; mēvin'n'avar vīlum [Bh G, 4, 9]; ആനന്ദിച്ചവർകളും അവനിയിൽവന്നുപിറക്കും van'nupirakkum [BhG, 8, 9].

By about the fifteenth century, the texts show the -um tense in connection with the first and the second persons. KG. and the early campus have instances:—

നക്കും നീ nalgum nī [K G, Rājas., l. 83]

നിങ്ങളുടെ നിന്നാൽ kūḍum [K G, Kṛṣṇ., l. 578]

തങ്ങളും നീയും തരിച്ചപ്പോൾ taññalum nīyum nāsiccu pōmē [KG, Rājas., l. 302]

ഞങ്ങൾ മറക്കും nāññal marakkum [ib., Vals., l. 562]

അടങ്ങുമോ നാം aḍaṇṇumō nām [Rām. camp., Sugr, 16]

നാം ഇരുവരും ചേരും nām iruvarumē cērum [ib., Rāv.]

നീയായ് വരുന്നീ nī-y-ā varum nī [Rām. camp., Paṭṭ., 95]

The extension of -um to the first and the second persons, judged from the evidence of the texts, was certainly gradual; but, as the above instances show, there can be little doubt that the extension of -um to persons other than the third one in Mal. colloquial may by this time have been more or less advanced, and though the older literary tradition continued to be respected [even by E] and by other writers of the New Mal. period], as in the use of nān taruvan [instead of nān tarum], the characteristic Mal. practice of using -um in connection with all “persons” might have been more or less completely developed in the living speech by the fifteenth century.

This use became gradually more and more popular in the texts. In the present-day colloquial, forms like nān tarum, avan varum, nī varum are exclusively used.

2. The second important feature of Mal. is that from the earliest texts down till today, the significations attached to this tense are the "aoristic" and the "future" ones. This may be compared to what is envisaged by Nannūl for Middle Tam.

While, however, Middle Tam. more commonly used the future with -v-, etc. (followed by personal endings) for the third personal "rationals", the earliest texts of Mal., employ -um for these "rationals" (sing. and pl.) in order to convey the "future" idea. In fact -um had become in Mal. by about the beginning of the literary era a common future ending in connection with all third personal forms. Gradually, it became indispensable for other persons also; and today the "future" type in Mal. is with the -um ending, though the "aoristic" signification also may in some contexts be conveyed by this tense.

The following points emerge from this discussion:—

(a) The use of -um in the earliest Mal. texts corresponds, generally speaking, to that of Middle Tamil, except for the fact that the -um type as a future had become very common in third person sing. and pl. "rationals" in Mal., while in Middle Tam. it was used in connection only with singulars among the "rationals", and here too only as an "indeterminate" tense.

(b) The gradual extension of -um to all persons in Mal. came to be mirrored in the texts from about the 15th century.

(c) New Mal. definitely fixed the -um tense to denote the "future" and the aoristic significations, while modern Tamil has gone its own way in retaining the future -v-, -b-, -pp- for all persons except the third person "irrationals."

The future with v, m, pp, followed by personal endings.

The future forms with v, m [Tan. b] and pp, followed by personal endings, occur in Old Mal. texts. Lil. expressly refers to them, RC and the Panikkars use them freely, and they are not unrepresented in KG; but by the time of E₁ they have disappeared from the texts, except in the first person sing. with the personal ending -an, —a dominant type in Mal. which is very frequently used by E₁ and which is also met with in many folk-songs.

6. THE AORISTIC TENSE WITH \bar{u}

This is a unique tense-type in Mal., not unrepresented in the earliest inscriptions. Both Gundert and Kēraḷa Pāṇini regarded this type as a “future” tense; but, as will be seen below, it has to be considered as fundamentally an “aoristic” type in view of its meanings and applications (though its aoristic force may in some contexts be interpreted as “future”).

ആറനാഴി നെൽ തിരുപ്പുകെക്കുള്ളോ $u\bar{l}\bar{v}$ [TAS, II, p. 184—9th or 10th c.]

[That this $u\bar{l}\bar{v}$ is equivalent in meaning to $o\bar{l}\bar{i}du = u\bar{l}\bar{a}du$ is clear from ആറകചമം തിരുച്ചന്ദനത്തിനൊള്ളിയ $o\bar{l}\bar{i}du$ in TAS, II, p. 184]

അതിനിൽപൊലികൊരവെം ഇരുപത്തെമ്പരരെ $ko\bar{l}\bar{v}$ [TAS, II, p. 186—9th or 10th c.]

കേളം $o\bar{l}\bar{v}$ [TAS, IV, p. 46—12th c.]

ഇരുനാഴി അരികൊഴുപ്പു $ko\bar{d}upp\bar{u}$ [TAS, VII, p. 66—13th c.]

[The same inscription has $ko\bar{d}uppadu$ with the same “hortative” meaning].

ഊട്ടുവ $\bar{u}\bar{t}\bar{t}uv\bar{u}$ [TAS, III, p. 209—13th c.]

(a) Structure of the tense with- \bar{u} . After -y, -l, - \bar{l} and \bar{l} , of bases the u is preceded by-v; by m after final nasals of bases; and by -pp- after kārīta bases with -kk-. $ceyv\bar{u}$, $ko\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{u}$, $kāṇm\bar{u}$, $ko\bar{d}upp\bar{u}$, inscrip- tional $\bar{u}\bar{t}\bar{t}uv\bar{u}$ etc. Except the $pp\bar{u}$ type, the others appear without v and m also, as in $ko\bar{l}\bar{u}$, $ceyy\bar{u}$, $kāṇ\bar{u}$. Obviously, $ko\bar{l}\bar{u}$, $ceyy\bar{u}$, etc. may have been “reductions” of $ko\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{u}$, $ceyv\bar{u}$, etc. [cf. $ko\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{ā}n$ from $ko\bar{l}\bar{v}\bar{ā}n$; $ceyyin < ceysin$; $kāṇān < kāṇmān$].

Structurally, the forms have v, m and pp, like the forms of the future formed as in Tamil (except for the m of Mal. which answers to -b-, after nasals, of Tamil).

(b) The significations of the type are the following:—

(i) a purely “indeterminate” meaning:—

എങ്ങനെ മനസിപൊറപ്പു $po\bar{r}upp\bar{u}$ [K Bhāg., p. 205]

എങ്ങനെ രോഗം ഇളപ്പു $i\bar{l}app\bar{u}$ [ib., p. 262]

എത്തുള്ളപ്പം $u\bar{l}\bar{l}\bar{u}$ [KR, Utt., 96]

താസിപ്പു എന്നതും താഡിപ്പു എന്നതും śāsippu....tāḍippu [KG, Uṭṭkh., l. 579 and l. 580]

The following also show ṣ:—

എങ്ങു eṇṇū [E] Bh]

അല്ല allū [Rām. camp., Sitāpari., 72]

ചാരത്തു cārattū [KG, Rājas., l. 224]

എവിടത്തു eviḍattū [Nāḍḍan., 2, 104]

By analogy, ū appears in the following:—

കയ്യിലു kayyilū [KG, Kucēl., l. 84]

ഉള്ളിലു ullilū [ib.] Vals., l. 569

വലിയു valiyū [Bharatavākya., 65]

(ii) “Aoristic”:—“eternal” actions:—

തങ്കലിക്കാമുഴത തങ്കൽ വീഴു vīḷū [Rām. camp., Vicch., gadya]

പാറററ ഉണ്ടല്ലീ വിളക്കത്തു വിണചാവു cāvū [Bh Bh, 1, p. 44]

സമ്മനനിനുകൊണ്ടു ഭജനം സന്തോഷിപ്പു santōṣippū [E] Bh]

(iii) “Aoristic”:—Habit, custom, or actions extending for a period of time:—

ചിലർ പത്തുകിടാവറു, ചിലർ കാളയാറു, ചിലർ പടവമുടിക്കളിപ്പു, ചിലർ പക്കുകൊളപ്പോലേ കരവു cilar paṣukkiḍāv-āvū, cilar kḷa-y-āvū, cilar puḍava mūḍi-k-kaḷippū, cilar pakṣigale-p-pōle karavū [BhBh, 1, p. 42].

മുനം ഞാൻ കേട്ടിരിപ്പു kēṭṭirippū [E] Rām, p. 22].

(iv) In “conditional” constructions containing a restrictive condition denoted by a preceding form with the restrictive particle ē:—

ഇലക്കൈക്കോനേ വരുവാനുള്ള [RC, 745].

ഉണ്ടായേ മതിയറവു mādi-y-āvū [K Bhāḍ., p. 47].

സേവിക്കോ ചേണ്ടു sēvikkē vēṇḍū [K Bhāḍ., p. 255].

ഭവൻ ഒരുത്തനേ ശേഷിപ്പു bhavaṇ oruttanē śēṣippū [BhBh, 1, 12].

കൊന്നു മുടിക്കിലേ കോപം തീരൂ kon'n'u muḍikkilē kōpam tīrū [KG]

നിന്നുടെ കാരണ്ണം എന്നേ ആവു n'innuḍē kārūnyam en'n'ē-y-āvū [KG]

1 On p. 74 of BhBh, Vol. 1, കരയുക karayuga as a verbal noun with the force of an aorist is equated in meaning to കരവു, in the following sentence-sequence: പക്കുകൊളപ്പോലേ കരയുക; തവള കരവു.

(v) As imperatives:—

നിങ്ങൾ കേൾപ്പൂ *kēlppū* [US, 1, 36], മാർത്താണ്ഡകാവ്യം ഭാരിക തന്നെയും.....കൊണ്ടിങ്ങുപോന്നു കൊൾവൂ *kolvū* [KG, Kṛṣṇ., l. 582], എൻ വിഴ നി ചൊർപ്പൂ *poṟuppu* [KG, Vals., l. 1551].

നിങ്ങൾ അടുത്തു കൊൾവൂ *kolvū* [KG, Kamsam., l. 190].

നി കണ്ടു ചൊൽവൂ *colvū* [i.b., l. 222].

ചേരിട്ടുകൊള്ളു നാം *kolḷū* [KG, Ulūkh., l. 118].

നി നിൽപ്പൂ, കുളിപ്പൂ, കാൺമു *n'ilpū*, *kaḷippū*, *kāṇmū* [Rām. camp., Sitāsway, 104 ff.]

(vi) "Aoristic", with a bias for the "future":—

എന്തുകൊണ്ടു തോല്പിച്ചു ഞാൻ *tōlpippū* [= *tōlpippadu*; KG. Ulūkh., l. 740].

ഇങ്ങനെ ഞാൻ ചെയ്തു *ceyvū* [BhBh, 1, p. 5].

(c) In present-day Malayalam, the following syntactic functions alone exist for this type:—

(i) The form is most commonly and frequently used along with a restrictive word or phrase preceding it, the "restriction" being denoted by the particle *ē* attached to the form expressing the idea so restricted:—

അവനെ വത്ര *avanē varū*

നാളയേ വായിക്കു *nālayē vāyikkū*

അനുഭവിച്ചു അറിയു *anubhaviccē ariyū*

ഇതേ മതിയാവൂ *idē madi-y-āvū*

ആരപേരെ വന്നിട്ടുള്ളു *ārapēre van'n'itt-ullū*

അനുജനെ വരികയുള്ളു *anujanē variga-y-ullū*

(ii) As an "aorist" it appears in questions implying gentle "doubt":—

എന്തുവേണ്ടു *endu vēṇḍū*

എന്തുള്ളു *end-ullū* [more common in Travancore]

(iii) In modern poetic compositions, the forms are used with an "aoristic" signification which sometimes amounts to a lasting present tense:—

ചന്ദനംലേപം ചാത്തിങ്ങുരേഴിച്ചു ഹരിമുഖം *śōbhippū* [Vallattōl's Bhaktiyum Vibhaktiyum]. This usage is, however, limited to poetry.

The probable origin of this tense.

The suggestion that the -ū of this tense-type may have been a reduced form of -um is, I think, untenable for three reasons:— (a) the structure of forms like *koļvū*, *ceyvū*, *koḍuppū*, *ūṭṭuvū* [inscriptional], *kāṇmu* definitely rules out the possibility of any straight connection with -um; for, -um is never associated with -v-, -pp or -m-; (b) -um was employed originally and primarily in connection with third personal forms alone, while the -ū tense has been associated from a very early period with all persons; (c) many of the syntactic functions of the ū tense cannot be conveyed by the -um tense.

The explanation of the origin of the ū- tense has to be sought in a different direction altogether.

(a) Now it is a remarkable fact that the “neuter” participial nouns of the type of *ceyvadu* with its variants *ceyvidu* and *ceyvūdu* would express the chief syntactic significations conveyed by the ū tense:—

“Aoristic” *bhāvavacana* “Imperative”—
or verbal noun—

1. *Ceyvadu* type—

എന്തെ പറവതു *paravadu*

[Kalyāṇ., 11]

ആർ പറവതു *pōvadu*

[RC].

പറവതു കേട്ടടനെ *paravadu*

[KR, Ar., 225].

കാപ്പതു ഞാൻ *kāppadu*

[BhG, 10, 14].

2. *Ceyvidu* type—

ചൊല്ലവിതുംചെയ്തൻ *collu-*
vidum [Bh Bh, I, p. 6]

ഞാൻ നടത്തുവിതു *n'adattu-*
vidu [RC, 638].

3. *Ceyvūdu* type—

എങ്ങ നേരക്കാവുതു *n'ōkkā-*
vūdu [US, I, 9].

എങ്ങനെ ഞങ്ങളുപോരപ്പതു
poruppūdu [KG, Gōp.,
l. 685].

അലയുവുതുമുണ്ടു *ala-*
yuvūdum [Bh Bh, 2, p. 18].

കൊൾവതു *koļvadu* [TAS,
II, p. 174—10th c.].

രാമൻ ചിരം കളവതു *kaḷa-*
vadu [RC, 65].

ഒട്ടക്കവിതു *oḍukkuvidu*
[TAS, II, p. 173—10th c.].

ഒഴിവിതു *oḷividu* [TAS,
III, p. 32—12th c.].

നീപോവിതു വടക്കുനോക്കി
pōvidu [RC, 532]

നീ കുറിക്കൊൾവതു *kuṟi-k-*
koļvūdu [US, 2, 97].

കളവതു *kaḷavūdu* [RC,
347].

Forms like *koḍuppūḍum*, *irippūḍum*, *ṭḍūḍum*, etc., used in BhBh and other texts, have a verbal noun force.

4. Ceyvū type—

താഡിപ്പു എന്നതു śāsippū
[KG, Ulūkh., l. 579]

For instances, see above.

താഡിപ്പു എന്നതു tādippū
[ib., l. 580]

എങ്ങനെ പലൻ
കൊൾവു koḷvū [ib., l. 486]

These types are thus intimately inter-related in respect of their primary syntactic functions.

(b) Now, the neuter participial noun of the ceyvadu type is employed in Tamil both as a pure participial and as a gentle “imperative” (though the latter is a colloquial feature, generally speaking). In Kannaḍa, express literary recognition has been given to the verbal noun signification and to the imperative meaning [in the second and third persons, sing. and plural] for the ceyvadu type [Kittel’s Gr., p. 149]. The use of this type therefore, as a bhāṇavacana and as an imperative is common to Tam., Kannaḍa and Mal.

The structural variant, with final -idu, of ceyvadu has been recorded as existing in Tam. (perhaps in the colloquial, reflected in the inscriptions of the Early Middle Tam. period) by Perundēvanār, the 11th or 12th century commentator of Vīracōḷiyam.

On the other hand, grammatical and literary recognition has been accorded in Kannaḍa to forms like geyvudu in the ancient and medieval dialects of Kannaḍa.

Thus one notes that while Tam. had ceyvadu and ceyvidu and Kannaḍa had geyvadu and geyvudu, Mal. had ceyvadu, ceyvidu and ceyvūdu.

These facts lead me to think that structurally these “neuter” participials with -idu and -udu (ūdu) are variants of those having -adu. Gundert [Gr., p. 74] considers -idu and -udu as respectively the proximate and intermediate demonstratives; and Kannaḍa grammarians also postulate -udu of old geyvudu as standing for the intermediate demonstrative.

So far as Mal. forms with -udu or -ūdu are concerned, it is doubtful whether one can assuredly say that -udu stands for the

intermediate demonstrative. This demonstrative which (be it said here) is of rare occurrence in Tamil and Kannaḍa (as an independent form) does not exist independently in Mal. at all. The participials with -idu may (in the absence of any evidence to connect them directly with the proximate and intermediate demonstratives) very well be viewed as phonetic variants of the participials with -adu. Lack of stress could account for -idu, while -udu and ūdu may easily have arisen from -uvadu of forms like ṭḍuvadu [ṭṽ ṭḍūdu], iṛaṇṇu-vadu [ṭṽ iṛaṇṇūdu].

(c) Be this as it may, it is with neuter participials of the type of ചെയ്തു ceyvūdu, കണ്ടു ṭḍūdu and കൊണ്ടു koḍuppūdu, that the aoristic ceyvū, ṭḍū and koḍuppū of Mal. have to be connected. Functionally and structurally, the ū tense is intimately related to the ceyvadu, koḍuppadu type and its variants.

From forms like ചെയ്തു celvūdu, കൊണ്ടു koḍuppūdu, the finals might have been dropped, and aoristic and imperative types like celvū, koḍuppū may have been formed. Similarly, ഉല്ലൂdu, എണ്ണൂdu, നല്ലൂdu (participials with ū analogically introduced) would yield ullū, eṇṇū and n'allū. I have not come across instances like allūdu (for alladu) and eviḍattūdu (for eviḍattadu); the formation of allū (occurring in the campus) and of eviḍattū may have been due to analogy. kayyilū (of KG) n'ingalū (of El), വരേണമു varēṇmū [Rām. camp., Vicch., gadya] അക്കേണമു ṭṛkkēṇmū [ib., Udyān., 75] [these two latter forms are contractions of വരേണമു and അക്കേണമു] also owe their ū perhaps to analogy.

The structural -v-, -m and -pp-, and the "aoristic" basis of the semantic ramifications in the different contexts in which these forms are used, make it probable that the final forms with -ū (sometimes also appearing as short u) arose from the truncation of participials like ṭḍūdu, koḍuppūdu, celvūdu, the process of truncation perhaps having been facilitated by the disintegration of personal endings in Mal.¹

1 In the process of the popularisation of this ഉ- type, perhaps instances like ചുമിയംവോ [TAS, II, p. 176] and ചെലവംവോ [TAS, III, p. 187] may have also exercised some influence.

7. INFINITIVE PARTICIPLES.

The history of the infinitive participles in Mal. forms one of the most important chapters of the evolution of Mal. morphology.

The Śaṅgam texts of Old Tamil had only the type with final -a [which appeared as -pp-a in connection with kārīta verb-bases having -kk]; and this type expressed “simultaneity” of action, “sequentiality” and “result” [see my MOTV]. In Middle Tamil however, this type also expressed sometimes the signification of “purpose”; but side by the side with this, a new type with -vān-, bān-, ppān also cropped up in Middle Tamil [V, Dhātu., 8] to denote purpose.

Early Old Mal. employed both the types, the former for expressing “effect”, “simultaneity” and rarely “sequentiality” and “purpose”; and the latter exclusively for denoting “purpose”; gradually, however, the former type began to be displaced in Mal. by other syntactic constructions, and (along with this) the latter was also extended in usage and in syntactic force. To-day, while in Tam. the -vān type exists in the colloquial only in collocations like colluvān ēn, it is most active in Mal. colloquial (and literary dialect) in numerous contexts (see below); conversely, while the older type with -a is commonly employed in the modern Tamil colloquial with the significations of “purpose” and rarely of “effect” and “simultaneity”, it has practically disappeared as an active infinitive participle from modern Mal., its existence being traceable only in some syntactic constructions, in a number of words with an “adverbial”, “adjectival” or “postpositional” force, and in a few old proverbs and phrases.

The -a type in early Mal.

(i) With almost the force of a verbal noun:—

ചൊല്ലത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ colla-t-tuḍaṅginān [RC, 56]

ചൊല്ലുകേട്ട് colla-k-kēṭṭu [RC, 128]

ചൊക്കത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ pōga-t-tuḍaṅṅinār [KG, Kṛṣṇ., l. 465].

The more modern constructions പറയുവാൻ തുടങ്ങി paṛayuvān tuḍaṅṅi for the first illustration above, and paṛayun'n'adu kēṭṭu for the second one above, are also not unrepresented in these early texts.

(ii) "Simultaneity"—

ഇവ(ർ)കൾ ഇരിക്കക്കയ്യുഴതി *iva(r)gaḷ irikka-k-kayyeḷudi* [TAS, III, p. 172].

വര വര വടക്കു് അടുത്താർ *vara vara vaḍakk- aḍuttār* [RC, 140].

വാറവർകാണമറഞ്ഞു *vānavar kāṇa marañṇu* [KR, Bal., 84].

കാണക്കാണ നടന്നു *kāṇa-k-kāṇa n'aḍan'n'u* [Rājarat.]

വീഴ വീഴ, പൊങ്ങപ്പൊങ്ങ *vīḷa vīḷa, poṇṇa-p-poṇṇa* [KG, Vrkās., 1. 88 and 1. 92].

(iii) "Sequentiality"—

മാരുതി പൂവാൻചെല്ലു..ലങ്കാ ചെക്കത്തുരചെയ്താർ *mārudi pūvān cella..*

lanka ceṟutt-ura ceydāḷ [KR, Sund., 31].

അവൾ ഉര ചെച്ചു..ചൊന്നാൻ ഒരമുഖനും *avaḷ ura ceyya,..connān*

daśamukhanum [KR, Ār.].

വായുതന്തുജൻ നേർവഴി ചെല്ലു..മെയ്തടവീടിനാൻ വായുഭേവൻ *vāyu tanujan nēṟ vaḷi cella ..mey taḍaviḍinān vāyu dēvan* [KR, Sund., 9].

(iv) "Effect"—

ചതികട അമർചെയ്തു് *cadi keḍa amar ceydu* [KR, Bal., 85].

കറവു് അറ മറന്നു് *kuṟav-aṟa maran'n'u* [US, II, 24].

അന്നയ *aṇaya* [US, I 50].

കൂട്ടമാളത്തന്നു് *kūṭṭam-ā irin'n'u* [TAS, IV, p. 46]; [*ā* = *āga*].

നിവീരത്തെഴുതു് *nivira-t-toḷudu*.

കുളിക്കനോക്കി *kuḷurkka n'ōkki* [BhBh, I, p. 48].

വിരിഞ്ചൻ നടുങ്ങ, പ്രപഞ്ചം കലങ്ങ, ദീനേരൻ മയങ്ങ *virinjan n'aḍuṇṇē, prapaṇjam kuluṇṇē, dīnēśan mayanṇē* [Kaly., gadya 5].

(v) "Purpose"—

അടൽ തടുക്കവന്നപോതു *aḍal taḍukka van'n'a pōdu* [RC, 449].

പൊയ്ക്കൊള്ളവേണ്ടി *poy-k-kolla vēṇḍi* [RC, 44]. This is rather rare. The more common construction is with the *vān*-type.

Except in the contexts mentioned below, this type of old Inf. Participle is not current in New Mal. ¹ The type persisted,

¹ El uses old collocations like *വിരയെപ്പോയ* [Bh, p. 275], *വില്ലു കഴിയെക്കലച്ചു* [Bh], *ഒരുതർ കേൾക്കപ്പറഞ്ഞിടൊലാ* [Bh, p. 305]. See Ch. VII. for further instances.

at least as a tradition-sanctioned construction, ¹ down till the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly with the syntactic signification of "simultaneity". Forms like irikkavē, n'ōkkavē, etc., are used in literature even to-day.

The a type in modern Malayalam.

- (i) In proverbs and in old phrases :—

എല്ലാമറിയെപ്പണിതാൽ പല്ല മുറിയെത്തിനാം ellu muriye

...pallu muriye [MP, No. 212].

ഇരുമ്പും തൊഴിലും ഇരിക്കക്കൊട്ടം irikke-k-keḍum [MP, No. 135].

ഇരിക്കപ്പെരതി irikka-p-poṟudi

ഇരിക്കക്കട്ടിൽ irikka-k-kaṭṭil.

- (ii) "Adverbial":—

കൂടക്കൂടെ kūḍa-k-kūḍe ²

തോരത്തോരം tōra-t-tōre

എറെ ēre

പോലെ pōle

വളരെ vaḷare

ഉയരെ uyare

അകെ āge

മുമ്പാകെ mumbāge

നീളെ nīle

പെരികെ perige

തിരിയെ tiriye

പരക്കെ parakke

തീരെ tīre

പതുക്കെ padukke

കുറെ kuṛe [കുറയെ kuṛa-

ya; cf. കുറയെപ്പറകിൽ in

Girij., p. 28; കുറയെ

പ്പാക്കു kuṛaya-p-pārk-

ka, ib. p. 54; കായ

ക്കണ്ടല്ല kuṛaya-k-kaṇ-

ḍalla in E. Bh.]

കൊക്ക okke, the infinitive participle of okk- 'to be joined', has become an almost indispensable word in Mal. Arising as an infinitive participle [cf. Tam. okka 'joined together' 'in unison', etc.], in certain contexts it has become almost a noun in New Mal. with the force of 'whole', standing in appositional relationship to the noun-idea governed by it.

In these contexts it is also sometimes declined:—

കൊക്കും okkaikkum [E. Cint., p. 27]; ഈ ലോകം കൊക്കും i lōgam okkaikkum [VR, p. 28]; കൊക്കും യജമാനൻ okkaikkum

¹ VR has some older types like പിമുളിപ്പു വിരിയക്കണ്ടു [p. 232], വരക്കണ്ടു [p. 262], മുനിമാൻ കേരക്കണ്ടുപുല്ലിലും [p. 264].

² El uses echo-phrases like തുടതുകൊണ്ടിപ്പോൾ, ചുടുമുടിയിൽ, കടുക്കുക്കുണ്ടിപ്പോൾ [Bh., p. 343].

yajamānan [Tul], p. 248]; കയീലം നല്ലതു okkayilum n'alladu.

(iii) "Adjectival":—

Some of those forms in the category (ii) above have, by constant association with nouns, also developed an adjectival force:—

ചെരിക്കെ perige [as in ചെരിക്കെ നാളെക്കു perige n'ālekkū in Bh Bh, I, p. 20; ചെരിക സന്തോഷത്തോടെ perige santōṣ-attōḍe in E₁ Rām.].

ആക ḍaga or ആകെ ḍage [cf. ആകനിലം അമ്പതുപക്കം ḍaga n'ilam aṛabadu paṛai in TAS, IV, p. 46 (12th c.)].

വളരെ vaḷare

കുറെ kuṛe < kuṛaya [cf. കറയത്താമസം kurayat-t-tāmasam in Tul], p. 381].

എറെ ēre

(iv) "Postpositional":—

അടുക്കെ aḍukke

കൂടെ kūḍe

ഒഴികെ oḷige [Tam. oḷiya]

നേരെ n'ēre

All these are of early origin. The final -e appearing in these expressions is, in my view, only a development in Mal. of the sound ə which the final -a of infinitive participles had at an earlier stage and does have even to-day in colloquial Tamil. In the manuscripts of earlier texts and in the inscriptions, one meets forms written as എറേ ēṛē, വളരേ vaḷarē, അകല agalē, കക്ക okkē [this value exists for this word even to-day in some colloquials], ചെരിക്ക perigē, ആക ḍagē, etc. It is not necessary, therefore, to postulate that -e is the contraction in Mal. of older -a-v-ē. -a-v-ē as in കക്കവേ okkavē, ഇരിക്കവേ irikka-v-ē, formed of the infinitive participle and the emphatic ē with the glide -v- between, is of course normal, but this need not have been the ancestor of കക്ക okke, ഇരിക്ക irikke, etc.

1 It is interesting to note that the original final -a here should have changed in Mal. to ə and then to e at a fairly early stage, as the vocalic glide associated here is only y, the front one, though Tam. infinitive participles embody the back glide v.

(v) In constructions with അരുതു arudu, വേണം vēṇam, വേണം vēṇḍā, ആം ām [< āgum], and in compounds with āg-, the old infinitive participle has been kept up (with the elision of the final -a of the infinitive participle):—

ചെയ്യരുതു ceyyarudu;
 ചെയ്യണം ceyyaṇam < ceyya vēṇam;
 ചെയ്യാം ceyyām [Tam. ceyyal- ām];
 ചെയ്യുക ceyyāg-, കേൾക്കുക kēḷkkāg-;
 ചെയ്യപ്പെടുക ceyya-p-peḍ 'to be done'.

(vi) An early change of the infinitive participle to the conjunctive past participle in constructions like the following, sanctioned even for Tamil by N, 346, is reflected in early Mal. illustrations and preserved in the modern dialect (including the present-day colloquial):—

പറയൂ തുടങ്ങി paṛayndu tuḍaṇṇi [RC, 27]
 അമിട്ടുതുടങ്ങിനാർ amiṭṭu tuḍaṇṇinār [KG, Vals., l. 179]
 നന്നായി ഉടക്കം n'an'n'āy uḍukkum [KG, Vals., l. 989]

This constructional type is quite common in Mal. to-day, Tamil colloquial usage however, has šolla ārambiccān, šeyya ārambiccān and nand'āga vāšippān, where the original infinitives are retained.

The infinitive participle of the vān type.

This appears in Mal. from the earliest known times and corresponds to the Middle Tamil type [which, as I have pointed out in MOTV, owed its origin to participial nouns like ṭḍuvān 'he who will run' being interpreted as infinitive participles of purpose in constructions like ṭḍuvān vandān 'he who will run came' > 'he came in order to run'].

There is one structural peculiarity to be noted in the Mal. forms of this type. While Tam. has the ending -bān for bases with final -n and ṇ, Mal. shows -mān [cf. Tam. future b for such bases = Mal. -m].

The uses of this participle may be classified thus:—

(i) It is used to denote "purpose", when the forms may be reinforced by āy or āykkonḍu:—സാധിക്കാനായ് sadhippānāy, വരുത്തുവാനായിക്കൊണ്ടു vāḷttuvānāykkonḍu; വരുവാനായിട്ടു varuvānāyittu.

(ii) An action about to happen is indicated by the following:—എന്തെ വെരതെ ചാവറൻ പോണ cāvān pōṇu [Tuḷ., p. 402]; വഞ്ചി മുങ്ങുവാൻപോകുന്നു muṅṅuvān pōḡun'n'u.

(iii) "Effect" is denoted when takka is employed, as in കൊല്ലുവാൻ തക്ക കറംചെയ്തു kolluvān takka kuṭṭam.

(iv) The forms have almost the force of a noun in the following:—ചിത്തിച്ചു വേണം നീ ഒന്നാചെയ്യാൻ cinticcu vēṇam n'ī on'n'u ceyvān [KG, Kṛṣṇālp., l. 296], വനത്തിൽപോയ" വേണം ഉണർമാൻ vanattil pōy vēṇam uṇmān [BhBh, 1, p. 44].

(v) The following are "pregnant" constructions:—ചട്ടി കലങ്ങും ഉടുപ്പാനും മതി uḍappānum madi [Tuḷ., p. 357] 'quite possible that the pots and utensils might be shattered'. വരാനും മതി varānum madi; വെളുപ്പാൻ നേരം vēḷuppān n'ēram [Tuḷ., p. 325]; വെളുപ്പാൻകാലത്തു" vēḷuppān kālattu; ഉണ്ണാൻ നേരത്തു uṇṇān n'ērattu; വരുവാൻ എന്തേ varuvān endē; പറയാൻ ഉണ്ടു" paṛayān uṇḍu.

(vi) കൂടാൻ kūṭṭān 'curry' [കൂട്ടുവാൻ kūṭṭuvān, as in BhBh, 1, p. 50] and മുറുക്കുൻ 'pansupari' have almost become nouns to-day.

This infinitive participle type is most active to-day in Mal. with all the significations mentioned above. In Tam. colloquial it is employed to-day only in one context, viz., varuvān ēn, while in Middle Tam. it was employed to denote 'purpose' and in constructions like aṇivān karutt-uṇḍu, pōvan karutt-illai [cf. commentary on V, Dhātup., 8].

As the infinitive participle with -vān, -mā, -ppān does not express "effect", Mal. employs constructions like the following to denote 'effect':—

അറിയുമാരൊക്കെയും aṛiyum-āṛ-ura ceyvān [RC, 2].

അറിയത്തക്കവണ്ണം പറഞ്ഞു aṛiya-t-takka vaṇṇam paṛaṇṇu [modern].

8. RELATIVE PARTICIPLES.

1. These in Mal. have final -a as in other south Dravidian speeches. The syntactic significations of the rel. participle in Mal. are also on all fours with south Dr. usage.

2. The type ṭḍin-a of Tamil is not common in Mal. except in some of the earlier texts; the Śaṅgam Tam. ṭḍiya type

has always been the popular form in Mal. ഉണ്ടാകൊരു undān(a-) oru [US, Intr., 2] and similar instances in the older texts like pōna [⟨pō-y-i-na], ādina, etc., do not exist in the modern dialect, though employed as archaisms in poetry.

3. The older texts show forms with the endings -an-a instead of normal -a in the following:—

ചവന്തമശികളോടും civandana miḷigaḷōḍum [RC, 147]

പെയ്യുകണ്ണീരോടും peyd-an-a kaṇṇīrōḍum [RC, 12]

ഇളനത്താപം iṭṭana śāpam [RC, 63]

വളർത്തചാല്ലിയോട് vaḷarndana cilliyōḍu [RC, 147.]

കൊണ്ടുപരിചാവതു koṇḍana pariśāvadu [TAS, III, p. 81, 1. 5]

4. Relative participles are combined with various words to denote specialised syntactic meanings:—

(i) With അളവു aḷavu to denote 'time', as in വനളവു varṇa-aḷavu, വരം അളവു varum-aḷavu, etc.

The use of aḷavu to denote 'time' exists in Middle Tamil. aḷavum (with the future rel. participle and with other words) denotes 'limit' in Old Mal., as in Early Middle Tam.; and this aḷavum has developed at a very early stage (in Old Mal.) to ഓളം ōlam [see Chap. V].

(ii) With അപ്പോഴു് appōḷ, ഇടം iḍam (eḍam), as in വനപ്പോഴു് varṇa-appōḷ and older നടക്കുന്നപ്പോഴു് naḍakkunṇa-appōḷ [Bh Bh, 1, p. 64]; പോയടം pōyēḍam.

(iii) With ആറു āru to denote 'manner' and with ആരേ ārē to denote 'time':—

പറഞ്ഞവാരം paraṇṇa-v-āru; പോകുന്നവാരം pōgun'n'a-v-āru; ചെയ്യുമാറം ceyyumaṛu.

പറഞ്ഞവാരേ paraṇṇa-v-ārē denotes 'time'. The combination denoting 'time' is usually that of the past relative participle and ārē.

The combination of the future rel. participle (having um) and āru implies 'effect' as in varum-āru, āmmaṛu (āgum-āru).

Except the type with ārē denoting time, all these constructions have counterparts in Middle Tam. Many of them persist in Mal. regional colloquials to-day.

(iv) Another Mal. construction (which has its counterpart in Middle Tam.) is the combination of relative participles with-or-(when a following noun is qualified) or with *ond'u*, *on'n'u* (when no noun is qualified):—നടപ്പോരു നേരം *naḍappōru n'ēram* [US, I, 75]; ഉള്ളോൻു *uḷḷ-ōnd'u* [US]. This *-oru* or *ōr* appears in such constructions before plural nouns also, as in ബന്ധക്കളായുള്ളൊരു ബന്ധനെ *bandhukkaḷāyulḷōru baṇṇaṇe* [Eḷ Rām., p. 54], അയ്യപ്പവിഹിതനായൊരിക്കലോരു അയ്യപ്പനെ *irippōru baṇṇaḷkku* [BhBh, 2, p. 24]; this would show that *oru* in these contexts has become a mere “expletive”.

5. Mal. allows the use of the “neuter” participial noun to do the duty of the relative participle, as in ഇതന്നതു കാലം *irun'n'adu kālam* [KR, Ār., 112], മരുവുന്നതു നേരം *maruvun'n'adu n'ēram* [Eḷ Rām.], cf. *adu kālam*, *adu māḷiri*, *idu pōle* of Mal. and Middle Tam.

6. Conversely, instances like വിളങ്ങുന്ന കണ്ടാൻ *viḷaṅṅun'n'a kaṇḍān* [Irupatt., Rām., 16, 67], കേട്ടുകൊണ്ടു *kēṭṭakōṇḍu* [Eḷ Rām.], ചേണ്ടാത്ത കാട്ടൻ *vēṇḍātta kāṭṭun'n'a* [Caṇakky.], വിഴുന കാക്കയാൽ *viḷun'n'a kāṅgayāl* [Tulḷ, p., 482] show that the mere relative participle was used for the participial neuter noun in these contexts.

7. In the following instances, original future finite “irrational” plurals, having been sometimes used appositionally with their subjects, have come to have a “relational” connection:—

തിരുവിളക്കിനുള്ള പൂമിയംവേം *pūmiyāvō* [TAS, II, p. 176 10th c.—Here, the form is followed in the inscriptional text by the names of the particular lands, so much so that the use of *pūmiyāvō* (< *pūmi-y-āva*) may be regarded as grammatically “predicative”, though the prefixing of the form to the names of the lands suggests a “relational” or “adjectival” connection].

ഇന്നെൽ കൊണ്ടുചെല്ലും ചെലവായ്വേം *celavāvō* [TAS, III, p. 187, 10th c.].

ചേക്കോപ്പണി *cēgō-p-paṇi* [TAS, III, p. 50, ll 30, 36—Here the form *cēgō*=*ceyva* (*ceyvava*), has become “adjectival,” as in the following instances also.]

1. The appositional nature of these pl. participials is clearly evident in instances like അങ്ങവരുന്നവ നേരേതരകൊണ്ടു തട്ടിത്തകളുതു [Eḷ, Bh, p. 302]

കരഞ്ഞാ പിള്ളകളം karaññō [Rām. Camp., Kharav. gadya]
 പാരിച്ചോ ചില പാറകളം pāriccō [ib., gadya]
 ഉപകരിച്ചോ ചില കഥകള upakarippō [Pr. Gr. Bh, p. 263]
 ശരീരപാതമേതുഭൂതങ്ങളായിരിച്ചോ ചിലവ irippō cilava [Praiṣ.
 p. 31]

8. ചെയ്തവർ ceyvavar [KR, Ār., 18], തട്ടവർ n'adappavar, ആടിയവർ ñḍiḍuvōnd'u [US, 2, 44], ആവോൻ ñvōn'n'u [Bh Bh] perhaps presuppose future rel. participles with v, p, though such participles have no independent existence [except "derivatively" as in 7 above] in Tam. or in Mal.

9. CONDITIONALS AND CONCESSIVES.

1. While the old Tam. conditional ending was -in or -ayin [the latter suffixed to the full tense-form], Middle Tam. had -il and āgil besides the old Tam. endings [V, Dhāt. 10]; -il appears suffixed to the verb-base, and -āgil was suffixed to the finite tense-forms or to the past stem. The earliest Mal. formations are like Middle Tam. ones:

വരിൽ var-il [KR, Bāl., 100.]

തരിൽ taril [Lil., 7, 5, cit.]

കാണുന്നതാകിൽ kāṇun'n'ūd-āgil [KG, Saubh., l. 114]

പോയാകിൽ pōyāgil [KG, Syamant., l. 69]

ചെയ്യിട്ടിൽ ceydīḍil [E. Bh, p. 258] beside ceydīḍugil.

But on account of the influence of forms like āgil and pōgil [where -g- is a reinforcer appearing in the conditional, the infinitive participle and the future forms], from a very early period -g- has been incorporated in the conditional endings of all verb-bases other than those with the kārīta affix -kk:—

കഴികിൽ kaḷigil [TAS, II, p. 174—10th c.]

ചെയ്യിൽ cey-g-il

കൊൾകിൽ koḷ-g-il

കുറെക്കിൽ kuṛaikkil

വരുത്തുകിൽ varuttu-g-il [KR, Bāl., 16]

} [TAS, III, p. 194 ff.]

And this -g-il has become a characteristic Mal. conditional suffix in bases of this type. Cf. L, II, 25.

The -g-il conditional is not current in present-day colloquial which uses the conditional formed of the past stem and -ā; but -gil appears to have been common down till the 19th century.

2. A special development of this -g-il appears in Mal. proverbs in the concessives with -ūl-um, as in the following:—

തിന്നുലു tinnūlum [M P, No. 462]

കുറുക്കുലു koḍukkūlum [ib., No. 89]

I cannot agree with Gundert when he says that the ū of -ūlum is the Mal. "second future affix ū"; on the other hand, it would be more natural to explain forms like tinnūlum from tinnuvilum [< tinnugilum], since -il or -g-il is never suffixed to the future finite (or to any finite tense) in Mal. or in Tamil, and further since even to-day the form on'n'ūlo alternates in the colloquial with on'n'uvilo and on'n'ugilo illustrating, so to say, the phonetic change.

3. -āl, suffixed to the past stem, expresses the conditional idea in Middle Tam. and in Mal., as in Mal. van'n'āl, ceydāl.

This form is very rare in Śaṅgam Tamil and appears to have become active only in early Middle Tam. [V, Dhātu., 10].

Mal. has had this form from the earliest period and it remains the most active conditional form to-day in Mal.

4. The chief concessives are formed, as in Tamil and in other south Dravidian languages, with the samuccaya-um annexed to the conditionals. In Mal., these are -il-um, and -āl-um [the latter after the past stem].

There are, however, a few forms in Mal. with -ān-um, -ēl-um, and -ēnum. Of these, ānum in forms like ārānum, eṇṇānum, are common and they exist even to-day. ālum, -ēlum and -ēnum, in forms like the following, are Old Mal :—ആറുലു arālum [KG, Rugm, l. 113]; ആലുലു ārēlum [ib., Hēm., l. 68]; എണുലു eṇṇēnum [RC, 36].

Now, all these endings are Middle Tam. terminations, occurring not only after ār, eṇṇ- as in Mal., but also after verb forms; -ānum and ēnum are concessives in Middle Tam., while, besides ēlum, ēl also occurs as a conditional ending in Middle Tamil.

These endings are absent in Old Tamil in which the conditional is either with -in- suffixed to the verb base as in ceyin, or with āyin [< āg-in, the conditional with -in of āg- 'to become'] suffixed to the tense-form.

I consider that -ān [of-ānum], -ēn [of-ēnum] and -ēl are contractions of -āyin and -āyil [which latter is a variant with -il of āyin].

The phonetic change of -āy- to -ē- is analogous to the change of Mal. n'an'n'āy to colloquial n'an'n'ē.

The variant-ēn-of āyin exists in Telugu also as a conditional ending.

5. In this connection, the following forms of Mal. deserve to be noted:—

[Nom.] ആറാൻ പറയുമോ āraṇ paṛayumō [Mōks., p. 1]

[Gen.] ആരാന്റെ ārand'e [MP, Nos. 109, 111, 112]

[Acc.] ആരാനെ āraṇe [MP, No. 110].

[Third case] ആരാനോടു āraṇōḍu [Naḷ Ātt., p. 430 of Univ. Sel.]

6. A suffix vān, expressive of 'doubt' and 'surprise', occurring in instances like the following, from about the period of the campus, is ultimately related to -ān-um, the concessive ending implying 'doubt':—

ആശ്ചര്യം āruvān [BhBh, 2, p. 43]

എന്തുവാണ് enduvān [Naiṣ. camp.]

ചൊല്ലിക്കാമോവാണ് collidāmōvān [Eḷ Kaivaly. p. 60]

ചിരിക്കയില്ലയോവാണ് cirikkayillayōvān [ib., p. 66]

എത്രയാണ് എത്ര നാളുകൾ etravān etra n'āḷaikkuvān [Girij., p. 40]

Kuñjan and others of the 18th century also use it; but it does not exist in the colloquial to-day.

There is little doubt that vān [cf. Gundert's Gr., p. 39], was formed from -ān with the permanent incorporation of a back glide v which appeared originally in forms like unḍō-v-ān, cirikkayillayō-v-ān, etc. Semantically the idea of 'doubt' implied by this suffix may be compared to the similar idea of 'doubt' in -ān of āraṇ, isolated from ānum.

10. VERBAL NOUNS WITH FINAL -GA OR -KKA.

The active employment in Mal. of these verbal nouns with varied syntactic functions is a significant feature of Mal. morphology, which marks off the west coast speech from Tamil.

These Mal. verbal nouns correspond to Tamil forms like *ceygai*, *irukkaḷ*, which are sometimes used as inflected nouns or as nominatives in Tamil syntactic constructions; but the uses to which these forms are put in Mal. are more extensive and numerous than in Tamil. In fact, they form indispensable linguistic units in Mal.

(i) They are used as subjects and objects of verbs:—

നിന്നിരുവട്ടിയുടെ പ്രവൃത്തി രക്ഷിക്കയത്രേ n'indiruvadīyude pravr̥tti rakṣikka-y-atṛē [BhBh, 1, p. 101].

സംഭ്രമമൊക്കെതൊക്കും ചെയ്തതകം sambhramamōḍ-oru kāryam ceyga tagā [KR, Kišk., 80].

വരുത്തുകചെയ്യുന്നു varuttuga ceyyun'n'u [BhBh, 1, p. 21].

കുട്ടികചെയ്യുന്നതു kṛṭṭuga ceyyun'n'adu [Pr. Gr. Bh]

അതളിച്ചെഴുതേണം aruḷi-c-ceyga vēṇam [ib.].

നടക്കയും വീഴ്ക്കയും കേഴുകയുംചെയ്തു naḍakkayum vīḷugayum kṛḷugayum ceydu [KG]

ചെയ്തതുകുന്നു ceygayāgun'n'u, ചെയ്തതായിരുന്നു ceyga-y-āyirun'n'u, ചെയ്തതായിരിക്കും ceyga-y-āyirikkum, ചെയ്തയുണ്ടു് ceyga-y-unḍu, ചെയ്തയില്ല ceyga-y-illa [used in Mal. with a slightly future force].

(ii) The instrumentals with *āḷ* and *koṇḍu* are very common (as in Tam.); the locative is represented in the literary speech in some contexts; the accusative appears in "comparisons" with-*kā*]; the dative is very rare; and the genitive is absent.

Instr. തേരുകയാൽ teruga-y-āḷ [RC].

എങ്കയിനാൽ eṅga-y-in-āḷ [KR, Kišk.]

പോകുകൊണ്ടു് pōga koṇḍu

Loc. ഭഗവാൻ കാങ്കയിൽ ഇച്ഛയില്ല kānga-y-il [BhBh]; മോഹമില്ല ജീവികയിൽ jivikkayil [E. Bh, p. 290]; ധരണിയിൽ വാഴുകയിൽ മരണം നല്ല vāḷga-y-il.

Acc. കേട്ടിടകേക്കാരോ kēṭṭidugē-k-kā [Irup. Rām., 11, 42].

Dat. Though L [2, 11, comm.] objects to forms like *kāṅgai-kku*, rare datives like the following occur in some texts: പേരിടകയ്ക്കു് തുടങ്ങിട്ടു് pēriḍugaikkku [Rām. camp., Vicch. gadya]; ഇവർമുവക്കും ഇഷ്ടമില്ലം

യ്ക്കവധധിയില്ല iṣṭam-illāygaikku [Cāpakky., IV, l. 19], കൊള്ളകൊടുക്കയ്ക്കം koḍukkaikkum [KU, p. 39].

(iii) The peculiar construction of the following type (met with often in BhBh and not unrepresented in other texts) may be noted here; അവധിയില്ലാത്തതായല്ലോ, ബാലയാകയുമുണ്ടു, കല്യാണിയാകയുമുണ്ടു, കൃപണയാകയുമുണ്ടു bāla-y-āgayum unḍu, kalyāṇi-y-āgayum unḍu, kṛpaṇa-y-āgayum unḍu [BhBh, I, p. 5].

The following points may be noted in connection with these Mal. forms.

1. In structure, the Mal. forms with their final -a resemble the Tamil optatives [with -ga or -kka] and the Mal. representatives of these Tamil optatives. It is quite conceivable that originally they were identical.

2. These verbal nouns should be carefully distinguished in function from the old infinitive participles of the type colla-t-tuninñē; for in old Mal. the verbal noun type is not employed to perform the duty of the infinitive participle, though usages exist like കാങ്കകാങ്കത്തളൻ kāṅga kāṅga-t-taḷaṇ'n'u [Koḍiya-vi-aham, 103] and എല്ലാവരും കാങ്കപ്പിരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു ellāvarum kāṅga [E] Bh, p. 359; മത്തപ്പരിഷകൾ കാങ്കത്തന്നെ kāṅga-t- tanne [Tull, p. 83]; kāṅg- [KBhāg, p. 102].

3. It may also be noted here that while Mal. uses these verbal nouns for a sequence of actions connected together with the samuccaya -um, Tam. employs only the infinitive participles in such contexts: Mal. n'āḍakkayum vīḷugayum kēḷugayum ceydu; Tamil n'āḍakka-v-um vīḷa-v-um kēḷa-v-um ceydān.

The fact that the infinitive of the type of vīḷa, āḷa, ceyya has also the force of a verbal noun in constructions like the above and like the others dealt with in the chapter on Infinitives [cf. ceyya vēṇam and ceyga vēṇam in Mal.], leads me to query if these verbal nouns with-g-a and their structural relatives, the optatives with-g-a, may not have been variants of the infinitive, formed with the reinforcer -g-. [For the kārītas, the -kk- already exists in the base, so much so that sometimes this in itself was felt as insufficient and an additional-u-ga was optionally tacked on in Mal. (and rarely in Tamil optatives), as in irikkuga beside irikka].

11. IMPERATIVES AND PERMISSIVES.

1. As in Tamil, verb-roots are used as singular imperatives; but two chief Mal. peculiarities may be noted:—

(a) Literary Tamil does not allow the incorporation of the enunciative vowel *u* after bases with final *l*, *ḷ*, *n*, *ṇ*, *y*, *r*, *ṛ*; but in Mal. this is optionally permitted in literary texts (and of course in the colloquial also). Lrl., III, 24, expressly points this out. Mal. singular imperatives like the following, therefore, freely appear in the texts:—*കൊല്ല* collu [gemination of *l* due to sandhi] [KG], *സമീപ* n'illu samīpe [Rām. camp.].

(b) Another peculiarity is that, while Tam. does not at all incorporate the *kārita* reinforcer in the singular imperatives of bases having these reinforcers, Mal. permits the embodying of *-kk-* in the singular imperatives, though in regional colloquials the *-kk-* may be omitted:—*ഇരിക്ക* irikku, *നടക്ക* n'aḍakku, etc., corresponding to Tam. *iru*, *n'aḍa*, etc. But *വിടുക*-*k*-*kiḍi*, *iriy-eḍō*, *eniy-eḍō* [< *eḷun'il*], etc., are also heard in regional colloquials. So far as the texts are concerned, even Kuṇṇan uses forms like *iri n'ṛ* [Tuḷḷ.] without *-kk-*.

The reason for the frequent incorporation of *-kk-* in singular imperatives is, I think, the popularity enjoyed by the polite imperatives (derived from optatives) of the type of a *eḍukka* in Mal.

2. There is a second person pl. imperative form with *-v-in*, *-m-in*, *-pp-in*, in which *-v-*, *-m-* and *-pp-* correspond to similar particles in the future tense and in the future infinitive participle of the *-vān* type.

The corresponding Tamil type has *-min* for all bases.

I think that the Mal. type may not be directly connected with the Tam. form. It is possible that Tam. *-m-* in *-m-in* is a plural ending appearing in other contexts in Tamil [e. g. in *ōm*, *ām*, *am*, the personal endings of the first person pl. tense, and in *mār*, a plural ending of nouns], while Mal. appears to have formed this type with *-v-in* and its sandhi modifications *-m-in* [after final nasals of verb-bases, as in *kāṇ-m-in*] and *-pp-in* [after *kārita* bases, as in *uraippin* < *uraikk+(u)v-in*, which last-mentioned form, I may remark by the way, is also current in Mal., i. e., without the sandhi change of *kk+v=pp.*]

3. Instances like *kēḷāy* [RC, 68], *kāṇīr* [KR, Kišk., 195—Pl. Imp.], *koḍutt-idāye* [RC, 74], which are imperatives with second personal endings, are not Mal.; they appear to have been used in these Old Mal. texts in imitation of Tam. literary usage [cf. TC, 450]. *അരിയം ariyā* [KR, Kišk., 81] and *പാരം pāra* [ib., 141] are singular imperatives with final -y elided.

4. The polite imperative of Mal. with- u-ga embodied always in ordinary bases and optionally in bases having the *kārita* -kk, has to be derived historically from the Middle Tamil optative [for which latter, see my MOTV].

അരികു ന്നി ari-ga n'ī [RC, 110]

ചെല്ലുക നി collu-ga n'ī [RC, 64]

The final -ga sometimes appears also lengthened in Mal. as in *അരികു ariḡā* [E] Cint., p. 28], *ചെൽക്കു colḡā* [Sabhā., l. 444], *kolḡā* [ib., l. 580], *അരികു ariḡā* [TAS, VII p. 153]; *വരികു varigā* and *വഴുകു* [KU, p. 15 and p. 23].

The Old Tamil optative, according to TC, 226, and to general usage in the Śaṅgam texts, is allowed only after the third person. But in late Śaṅgam texts and in Middle Tamil [See my MOTV], the use of the optative was extended to other persons,—a usage which was definitely and expressly recognized by Nannūl in its sūtra 338.

This Middle Tamil practice is reflected in the oldest Mal. texts completely, in which the optatives are associated with all persons.

In the earlier texts,¹ the third personal optatives were of course common: *n'innuḍe uḍal ponnirāmāḡā* [KR, Utt., 193], *adu n'ilka, tiruvuḷḷam āvūḍāḡā* [RC, 14], *celvōṇāḡā* [L, II, 25], *bhagavān ṇaṇṇāle rakṣippūḍāḡā* [BhBh, I, p. 100], *rāman jayippūḍāḡā* [E] Rām.], *pōgadellām* [E] Bh.]. Gradually, however, the optative has become a mere second personal "polite" imperative in Mal.

¹ Instances like *അരിവേയാക, വിഴുവായാക* [KR, Ar., 153], *കൈക്കൊടുവേയാക* [KR, Kisk., 117] represent a favourite type with the Panikkars. This is a Tamilism.

5. The future participials with final -adu, -idu, -ūdu (or udu) have an "imperative" value [cf. § 6 above]:—

രാമൻ ചിരംകളവതു kalavadu [RC, 65]; പോവിതു നാം ഇതുവഴി pōvidu [KR, Bāl., 77]; കൊടുപ്പതു koḍuppūdu [RC, 76]; van'n'-āvūd-enikku [KBhāg., p. 74]; കുറിക്കൊടുവതു koḷvūdu [US 2, 97].

6. The -ū aorists are used with an imperative force in all numbers and persons in the old texts [cf. § 6]:—

കേൾപ്പു kēlpū [US, 1, 36]; നാം പറഞ്ഞു കൊടുവു koḷvū [KG]; ചെൽവതാവു celvūd-āvu [L, II, 25 cit.]; പിനെയും പിനെയുംകേട്ടാവു kēṭṭāvū [BhBh, 1, p. 26].

7. A benedictive with -āga suffixed to future participials with ūdu, occurs in old texts:—

വെൽവതാക velvūdāga [US, 1, 38]; ജയിപ്പതാക രാമൻ jayippūd-āga [E. Rām.].

രക്ഷിപ്പതാകേണമേ rakṣippūd-āgēṇamē occurs in BhBh, 2, p. 19.

8. The ending -ṭṭē [< otṭē = otṭu 'allow' + emphatic ṭ] is used in Mal. as a "permissive" in the first and third persons:—

n'ōkkattē nān [KG, Ul., l. 279], irun'n'ōṭṭē [BhBh, 1, p. 44 — 3rd person] < irun'n'u + koḷḷattē.

āgattē is syntactically important in constructions like യശോധായാകട്ടേ yaśōdayāgattē 'as for yaśōda' [BhBh, 1, p. 33].

The Travancore regional colloquial പറഞ്ഞോട്ടേ paraññāṭṭē is a construction constituted of paraññu and kṇāṭṭē; cf. Kuñjan's എന്തെട വായൽ പുക്കോണ്ടോട്ടേ, നീയിനിമോഹം ഒഴിച്ചുചുണ്ടേ, വായിര നേരേ കുതിച്ചുചുണ്ടേ pukkōṇḍāṭṭē, oḷicceccāṭṭē, kudicceccāṭṭē [Tull, p. 409].

9. The concessive with the ending -āl-um, standing by itself, does duty in Mal. for a kind of polite imperative for the second person. It is a contraction of constructions like നിങ്ങൾ പോയാലും നാം n'innāḷ pōyāl-um n'an'n'u 'it would be well if you were to go' implying a polite wish, from which n'an'n'u 'it would be well' has been dropped.

This type occurs in the earliest Mal. texts and has continued to be active down till to-day; നിങ്ങൾക്കൊന്നാലും n'innāḷ kon'-n'ālum [RC, 402]; ceydālum [KG].

10. The combination of the old infinitive participle with *ām* [*<āg-um*] expresses in Mal. “permission” besides “ability”:—*kulaikkam* [RC, 18].

This corresponds to Middle Tam. *ceyyal-ām* type. The Mal. type occurs in the earliest known period and has continued to exist down till to-day. RC and US have the type *ceyyām* beside the Tamilistic *ceyyalām*. The Paṇikkars, KG and later texts (excepting VR which consciously employs the Tamilistic *ceyyalām* type beside the Mal. *ceyyām*, just as it has used many other Tamilisms deliberately) use the *ceyyām* type exclusively.

Functionally, the type in Mal. has the following meanings:—

(i) *avan varām*, *avar varām*, *avan van'n'irikkām* in connection with the third person, imply ‘possibility’.

(ii) *enikku pōgām*, *ayālkku varām*, *ṇāṇṇaḷkk-eḍukkām* signify either ‘ability’ of the person concerned or ‘permission’ accorded to him by another. The dative is associated here.

(iii) *ṇān varām*, *ṇāṇṇaḷ tarām*, where the first person is involved, would mean a ‘promise’ on the part of the speaker. This last-mentioned usage with the first person is unique in Mal., having been in existence from a very early period: *ṇānum..ceyyām* [KR, Ār., 159].

12. PARTICIPIAL NOUNS:

1. In Tamil two sets of participial nouns could be distinguished from the point of view of their structure:— the older variety which structurally is the same as the finite tense-forms without the augment-*an*; and the more modern variety, restricted to the third person and constituted of the relative participle and *avaḷ*, *avan*, *avar*, *adu*.

Mal. generally has only third personal participials (belonging to both these types). In Tam. a participial noun like *kaṇḍēn* ‘I who saw’ could be “inflected” with “case”-endings, though it should be said that the construction is perhaps exclusively literary; Mal. does not possess such participial nouns in the first or the second persons. Again, while Tam. may use *kaṇḍān*, *kaṇḍāḷ*, *kaṇḍār* as participials, Mal. prefers either *kaṇḍōn*, etc., or *kaṇḍavan*, etc., Cf. ലാഘവജ്ഞാശ്ചയീയാഭയാനന്തം [Bh Bh, 2, p. 8] and നീളം തന്നെ [ib., p. 9].

2 Old Mal. had future participial nouns like വാങ്ങുമവർ *vāṅṅumavar* [KBhr, p. 125], വെണ്ടുമവ *vēṇḍumava* [ib., p. 116], പറമമല്ല *pat't'umadalla* [KR, Utt., 571], പോക്കുമല്ല *pōkkumadalla* [RC 13].

3. Participials are used with almost the force of finite tense-forms in Old Mal., particularly in the third personal present tense forms (for which the type ചെയ്യുന്നു *ceyyun'n'ān* with the personal ending *ān* is conspicuously absent in Mal.):—കുന്നനൂറ്റിയിൽ നിന്നെൻ ഭർത്താ കലവരം പ്രപിക്കുന്നു *prāpik-kun'n'ōn* [KR, Ār., 172].

ഭരതൻ ഇവിടെ വരുന്നു *varun'n'ōn* [KR, Utt., 251].

ആരിഹഭരിപ്പോർ *ār-ihā bharippōr* [KBhr, p. 116].

രാജകുമാരൻ നിങ്ങളെ ബന്ധിപ്പോർ *bhandippōr* [BhBh, 2, p. 22].

ഭവകരൻ യുദ്ധത്തിന്നു വരികിൽ നിന്നെൻ ശരങ്ങളോടെ മണിപ്പോവോർ *maṇḍi-p-pōvōr* [BhBh, 1, p. 17].

4. The participials of the type of *irāṇṇūdu*, *pōvūdu*, *eḍupūdu*, *ceyvūdu*, *ṭṭūdu* occur in all Old Mal. texts, but they are most numerous in BhBh, KU, Brahm. Among New Mal. texts, this type is met with in Kucēl. *vaṇjip.* and occasionally in other texts. It has gone out of use to-day.

Its use in constructions like പോവുകയും ചെയ്യ *pōvūdu* *ceydu* for normal പോകയും ചെയ്യ *pōgayum* *ceydu* is quite common in BhBh, KU and Brahm.

13. APPELLATIVES.

One of the special features of Tamil is its appellatives in all persons, like *koḍiyai* 'thou art cruel', *n'āyinēn* 'I am like a dog.' Mal. has only the third personal appellatives, though older *aḍiyēn* [modern *aḍiyan*] and *Kaṇṇaṣṣan's* *ellirum* may be regarded as appellatives of other "persons".

Some Mal. appellatives that have now gone out of use are the following:—*pon-n'irattā*, *anna-n'aḍayā*, *simhattān*, *n'āgattān*, *velattān*, *maṛkkaḍattān*, *eṇṇōn*, *eṇṇō*, *aṇṇēn* [modern pl. *aṇṇēr* or *aṇṇōr*], *eṇṇanattōn*, *dūrattān*, *cārattūdu*, *eṇḍattūdu*; and (by analogy) *kānanamtannilōn* [KG, Khāṇḍ., l. 242], *n'innuḍe pinnilōn* [KG Gōp., l. 525].

Some older relative appellative participles [like common forms of the type of *valiya*, *ceṇiya*, etc., which are still current] are *alagiya* [KR, Ār., 137], *kārkarun'irattiya* [RC].

14. NEGATIVE FORMATIONS.

1. The aorist negatives with personal endings exist in Old Mal. texts. They are numerous in the writings of the Paṇikkars; they are represented in certain types in KG, but in E₁ they have disappeared except for vallēn in the *cliche* colla vallēn.

oliyēn [RC, 46]	aṛiyōm [KR, Kišk., 248].
oliyāy [KR, Kišk., 109]	kaiviḍār [KG Khāṇḍ, l.
miṇḍā [L, IV, 23]	222].
pōrādu [US, I, 55].	

It is quite probable that these were purely literary, inasmuch as from the time of the earliest texts, the third person "neuter" pl. negative tense with ā [cf. TC, 9 and 216] had been used in Mal. for all persons and numbers:—

കണ്ടുകിയാനി muḍiyā n'ī [L, VIII, 6, cit].
 ഞാൻ അമർച്ചയ്ക്കു nān ceyyā [KBhr, 48].
 നീ അറിയം n'ī aṛiyā [RC, 79].
 സീത എന്നിക്കു പൊരുന്നം sīta porun'n'ā [KR, Ār., 49].
 പീരാട്ടി താരാ tārā [US, 2 45].

This ā was more active in Old Mal. and in the earlier stages of New Mal.; it persists to-day only in പൊര പōrā, വയ്ക്കു vayyā, കൂടൂ kūḍā, വേണ്ടു vēṇḍā.

The employment of the form with ā for all persons and numbers is significant in that it was this obliteration of its original third person "neuter" plural function that perhaps led to its being considered as a negative verb-stem to which tense-affixes were attached, and to the unique Mal. forms (discussed below) being constituted.

2. From the earliest known literary period, there appears in Mal. a series of unique conjugated negatives in which the stem with the particle -ā- is followed by tense-endings or verbal suffixes. Among the finites, the past and the present are met with, while the future is less common; besides, participles, prohibitives and verbal nouns based on the same stem numerously occur. The chronological frequency of these forms is adverted to below, but I may state here that in

present-day Mal., except the past finite (regionally), the past conj. participle and the verbal noun, the other formations have ceased to exist. No Dravidian language other than Mal. shows these formations.

Present tense.¹

അറിയായിൻറിതു ariyāyind'idu [US, 2, 30].

പൊറുക്കരുതായന്നു² porukk-arudāyun'n'u [KG, Gōp., 2, l. 481].

കണായിന്നു kṇāyain'n'u [ib., Kamsamantr., l. 128].

കളയായന്നു kalayāyun'n'u [Rām. camp. Sitāpar., g. 4].

വരായിന്നു vārāyin'n'u [ib.]

നന്നു ചെയ്യായിന്നു nām ceyyāyin'n'u [Bh Bh, 1, p. 96].

മയയല്ലായന്നു illāyun'n'u [ib., 1, p. 103.]

ഞാൻ കണായിന്നു ṇṇān kṇāyain'n'u [Naiṣ. camp.]

ചെയ്യായിന്നു ceyyāyin'n'u [E] Bh.]

കൂടായിന്നു kūḍāyin'n'u [Bhāg].

Past tense.

വരാഞ്ഞു varāṇṇu [KG, Kāṭiya., l. 87].

നിങ്ങൾ അന്യായപ്പെടാഞ്ഞു n'innāḷ anyāya-p-pedaṇṇu [KU, p. 7].

കൊടാഞ്ഞാൻ കോളിയൻ koḍāṇṇān kōḷiyan [Bh Bh, 1, 71].

Phonetically -āṇṇ- was derived from -ā-ynd- [cf. āṇṇ- < āyāynd-'having carefully searched'], where -ā- is the negative particle, and-(y)nd- has the dental nasal associated with the past-forming affix -d-. For y, see below.

The past finite, the past participle, the relative participle, the conditional and the concessive,—all of which have the past stem of the type ചെയ്യാഞ്ഞു ceyyāṇṇ-, are heard even to-day.

1. Bh Bh and PrGrBh show numerous present tense finites ; the latter has അറിയായിന്നില [p. 261, a form in which illa reinforces the negative idea], ഉടിയായന്നു [p. 337], അനമിക്കപ്പെടായന്നു [p. 337], ഇളക്കരുതായന്നു [p. 53], കൊടായന്നു, ചൊല്ലായന്നു, സേവിയായന്നു, etc.

2. il-, al- and arud-, when conjugated, always take on the endings of this type because the negative idea is inherent in these bases.

The future tense.

Though instances are rare, I have noted the following:—

വരായം *varāyum*, the future with -um in Līl. 7, 5, citation. [താരാനോ തരമോ തരിൽപ്പലടിനം വരായമോ? *tārānō tarumō varāyumō*].

ഇടർപാരായ്ക്കർ *iḍar pārāyvar* [KR, Utt., 109],--a future with -v- and personal ending.

വാൽവിടായ്വ *vāl viḍāyvū* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 45], an instance of the "aoristic" type with *ū*; ആയം എടാഴിവു *eḍāḷivu* [Brahm.]

The future relative participle *kāṇāyum-bō* in Bh 1, p. 110, and *വടായം* in Rājāratn. [57], and the participial nouns *kōḍāyvad-innu* [RC, 42], and *നിവിരായ്വതിന്നു* *n'ivirāyvadinnu* [Girij., p. 80] are connected forms.

Other verb forms.

1. Conjunctive past participles:—അറിവില്ലായ്ഞെ *aṛiv-illa-y-āññu* [RC, 44], അല്ലായ്ഞെ *allayāññittu* [KG, Rugm. l. 815].

2. Relative present and past participles:—കണയന്ന *kāṇā-y-un'n'a* [Bh Bh, 1, p. 119], വാടിടയന്ന *vāḍiḍāy-un'n'a* [Rām. camp., Ravanōdbh., 1], പാപ്പെടയ്ഞെ *paṇṇeḍāñña* [Kucēl. vanji., l. 284], കണയ്ഞെ *kāṇāñña* *ñān* [ib., l. 287].

3. Infinitive participle of "purpose":—

ബാധ വരായ്ക്കൻ *bādha varāyvān* [KR, Bāl., 64]

തട്ടായ്ക്കൻ *tattāyvān* [E] Bh]

തോലായ്ക്കൻ *tolāyvān* [KR, Bāl., 253]

വിഴായ്ക്കൻ *viḷāyvān* [ib., 116]

This has disappeared to-day, though even 16th and 17th century writers were using it.

The type represented by *varād-irippān* [normally related to the Tam. negative infinitive participle] has now displaced *varāyvān*.

4. A polite imperative with -āy-ga occurs in the texts:—

നി മരിയായ് *n'i mariyāyga* [KR, Ār., 5].

അറിവടയോർ കൊടായ് *aṛiv-uḍayōr koḍāyga* [KR, Kišk, 122-3rd person!].

5. A second person plural imperative with -vin was very common down till the 16th and 17th centuries.

തളരെയ്യിൽ *taḷarāyvin* [KR, Ār.]

നീലയ്യിൽ *n'illāyvin* [KG, Rugm., l. 1,002]

ഭയപ്പെടയ്യിൽ *bhayappedāyvin* [E] Bh]

ഓടയ്യിൽ *ōḍāyvin* [E] Bh, p. 341]

ഉഴയ്യിൽ *uḷarāyvin*, ചൊല്ലയ്യിൽ *collāyvin* [Bhāg, p. 105]

മിണ്ടയ്യിൽ *miṇḍāyvin* [17th century Padappattu, p. 21]

6. Conditionals with *-āygil*, *-āyga-y-āḷ*:—കൊടാകിൽ *koḍāgil* in a tenth century inscription [TAS, III, p. 176]

കണയ്യിൽ *kāṇ-arudāyga-y-āḷ* [KG]

അല്ലയായ്യിൽ *allayāygil* [RC, 146]

[This alternates with അല്ലാഴികിൽ *allāḷigil* or അല്ലയാഴികിൽ *allayāḷigil*; for the change of *-y-* to *ḷ*, cf. the colloquial corruption *āḷaikk-* for *ayakk-* 'to send'].

ഇവയ്യിൽ *ivayyil* [TAS, III, p. 32 — 12th c.]

കൊടയ്യിൽ *koḍāygil* [RC, 82]

ചെയ്യിലായ്യിൽ *ceyḍilāygil* and പാഞ്ഞിലായ്യിൽ *paraññilāygil* [KU, p. 33]

ഇല്ലയായ്യിൽ *illaiyāygil* [CAR, VII, p. 10]

The type of പായായ്യിൽ *paṛayāyññal* is common today; but forms like *paṛayāygil* are not heard.

7. Verbal nouns with *-āyga*:—

മറിയായ്യിൽ *mariyāyga koṇḍu* [KR, Ār., 7]

പിഴ ചെയ്യിൽ *piḷa ceyyāyga vēṇḍum* [RC, 322]

മറിയായ്യിൽ *mariyāyga* [KR, Kišk., 159].

ഇല്ലായ്യിൽ *illāyga koṇḍu* [Kuc. Vañjip., l. 218]

This type is common even today in expressions like അറിയായ്യിൽ *aṛiyāyga koṇḍallā ṇṇan vaṇḍiyil kayarīyadu*.

8. KR, Sund. has forms like കണ്ടായ്യിൽ *kāṇāyvaṇṇam* [78], വായ്യിൽ *vaḷāyvaṇṇam* [249] beside normal negative rel. participles like *kāṇā*, *vaḷā*, etc. as in Tamil. The presence of the *-y-* in the Mal. forms is significant in as much as it is this *-y-* that has led to the palatalised past stem type of *varāññ-* in Mal.

It would be interesting to inquire how these unique Mal. negatives were formed. Tamil has the aorist negative type in which, as Caldwell has already pointed out [Comp. Gr., p. 474],

the negative idea is associated with the particle \bar{a} which appears also in the relative participle of the type *ceyyā*. In Tamil, no special forms showing tense-affixes exist; nor does any Dravidian language for that matter evidence such negative tense-forms as those of Mal.

In the first place, it is clear that the Mal. forms are founded upon a negative stem with \bar{a} ; for, this $-\bar{a}$ is conspicuous in all of them. Secondly, a new *y* has cropped up in all the forms of this type in Mal.; in the past stem, its original existence is attested by the palatalised $\bar{n}\bar{n}$ [$\leftarrow y+nd$]. Whence is the *y* here? I am inclined to think that it may have originated as a glide in present tense forms like $kāṇā+y+in'n'$ in which the front glide is quite characteristically Mal., as the analogy of $vāḍā-y-idu$ വാടം യിതു in the commentary on Līl, III, 1, comm. distinctly shows. The *y* thus associated with the type was perhaps permanently embodied in all forms. Even the relative participle, inherited from the parent language, of the type of *ceyyā* appears sometimes to have embodied this *y* in Mal: cf. $kāṇāyvaṇṇam$ and $vāḍāyvaṇṇam$ of KR, Sund., already cited.

The Mal. negative forms of this category are thus derivative in origin. Further, it may also be noted that forms like $kāṇāyind'u$ and $vāḍāyind'u$ with the present tense affix *in'n'* [having *i*] also point to the fact that these forms had their origin after Mal. developed its present tense affix from Middle Tam. $-gind'$ but before $-un'n'$ [with *-u-*] was developed or popularised.

Distribution in the texts.

This category is met with in Old Mal. texts, though all forms are not equally numerous. The following types: $ceyyāyga$, used as the verbal noun and the polite imperative, $ceyyāyvin$ [plural prohibitive], $ceyyāyvān$ [future participle with $-vān$] are quite common in the works of the Paṇikkars, in RC, KG and in Eḷ.

The future tense finites with *um* or \bar{u} as in $ceyyāyum$ or $ceyyāyvū$ are rare, but not unrepresented in Old Mal.

In the campus and in the prose work Bh Bh, present tense and future tense stems are very frequent, besides the other types.

In KG, the future finite is non-existent; the present exists though not numerous; the others are common.

In *E*₁, the present tense form appears rarely [ceyyāyun'n'u in Bh, kūdāyun'n'u in Bhāg.], and the future stem is represented only in participial neuter nouns; but all other types are frequently represented.

It may be observed that the negative types, inherited directly from the parental language, ചെയ്യാതിരിക്കുന്നു ceyyādirikkun'n'u, ചെയ്യാതിരുന്ന ceyyādirun'n'u, ചെയ്യാതിരിക്കും ceyyādirikkum and ceyyāda, etc. already existed side by side with the special Mal. developments ceyyāyun'n'u, etc. Such forms, directly inherited from the parent speech, appear to have gradually displaced, after the period of *E*₁, the types ceyyāyun'n'u, ceyyāyum, ceyyāyvū, ceyyāyvin, ceyyāyvān and the polite imperative ceyyāyga.

The only types that exist in the modern colloquials are ചെയ്യാ ceyyāyga as a verbal noun, the past finite ചെയ്ത ceyyāññu used regionally, the participle ചെയ്ത ceyyāññ-, the conditional ചെയ്താൽ ceyyāññāl, and (in regional colloquials) the relative participle ചെയ്ത ceyyāññā.

These present-day types alone are frequently met with in New Mal. after the transitional stage of *E*₁. Occasionally, however, the following are also represented in the 17th and the 18th century texts:—

പോകായ് pōgāyga as a proh. [VR, p. 186]; കരുതിയായ് karu-dīdāyga [ib., p. 54]; കോപിയായ് kōpiyāyga [Kōtt. Ātt., p. 74]; khēdiyāyga [Na]. Ātt.].

വന്നിടയ്ക്കതിന്ന van'n'idāyvadinnu [Kōtt. Ātt., p. 69].

അരുളായ് aruḷāyvan [Kōttārakk. Ātt., p. 113]

ഇല്ലായ് illāyvan [Kōtt. Ātt.]

തടവുകൾ തല്ലും വരായ് varāyvan [Tul., p. 477];

കാളഞ്ചേയം ഇല്ലായ് illāyvan [Viṣṇ., p. 76]

These, however, are not common in New Mal.

Negative verb-forms normally descended from the parent language.

1. Conjunctive participles of the ceyyādu type abound in RC, KR, KBh, etc.

While ceyyādu represents the Tam. type, ചെയ്യാത്തു ceyyāññu- [see supra] is a Mal. development [cf. *ceyyāyndu], in which the y (met with also in ചെയ്യായിന്നു, etc.) has "palatalised" the past affix.

The ചെയ്യാത്തു type appears as ചെയ്യാത്ത ceyyādē even in Old Mal., as in KR.

While ceyyādē expresses merely the idea of the negative, the participle ceyyāññu has the additional connotation of "cause" in Mal.; further, the conditional with -ā is directly formed only with ചെയ്യാത്തു as in ചെയ്യാത്താൽ ceyyāññāl.

The rel. participle ceyyāda has now changed to ceyyāta; the change perhaps occurred very early; for, a 13th c. inscription [TAS, III] has ചെയ്യാത്തതിന്നു cellāttadinnu.

The relative participles of the type of ceyyād-irikkun'n'a, ceyyād-irun'n'a, the imperatives ceyyād-irikkū, ceyyād-irippin, the conditionals ceyyād-irikkil and ceyyād-irunñāl, the infinitive participle ceyyād-irippān, the verbal noun ceyyād-irikkuga are all based upon the combination of ceyyādu, the aoristic conjunctive participle and different forms of ir-'to be'; these are most common today.

In this connection, I may refer to the modern colloquial type ചെയ്യാണ്ടു ceyyāṇḍu which goes back in origin to ചെയ്യാതെക്കൊണ്ടു ceyyādē koṇḍu, where koṇḍu makes the "action" enure to the subject, as in ceydu koṇḍu. Gundert [Gr., p. 292] postulates kaṇḍu കണ്ടു instead of കൊണ്ടു koṇḍu, though he also cites അറിയാതെക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു on p. 306 of his Gr. I think that കൊണ്ടു koṇḍu is the correct form, and this has been replaced in many Mss. and printed texts by കണ്ടു in this context on account of "confusion". The participle koṇḍu of kol- is used in many Dr. languages with this force of making the action enure to the subject in affirmative constructions; Tam. and Mal. have only extended this usage to the negatives. This is clearly proved by the following instances: നിന്നെക്കൊന്നിവിരതം കൊള്ളാം varāde koḷḷām [CBh, p. 309]; എൻ ചെയ്യാള കുന്നുകിടാക്കളക്കൊല്ലാതെക്കൊണ്ടാകിൽ kollādē koṇḍ-āgil [KG, Vals., l. 246]; കുമ്പാതെക്കൊള്ളുവാൻ kumbāde koḷḷuvān [ib., Rugnan., l. 122]; താരതെക്കൊള്ളുവാൻ ഇപ്പയ്യണ്ടു tārāde koḷḷuvān [ib., Syamant., l. 232]; കൊല്ലാതെ കൊള്ളാത്തതു എന്നേ നികollāde koḷḷān-nad-endē n'i [E. Bh, p. 379].

Middle Tam. used such forms commonly: cf., e. g., നടുക്കാതെ കൊൾ n'aduṅṅādē kol in Naccinārkiniyar's commentary on Kalittogai, I, 17, 2.

2. The common Mal. negative finites inherited from the parent language are the following:—

ചെയ്യുന്നില്ല ceyyunnilla—cf. Middle Tam. ceygind'ilēn etc.

ചെയ്യില്ല ceydilla— „ ceydilan, etc.

Old ചെയ്യില്ല ceyvilla [KR, Sund., 95] } „ ceygilen, etc.
New ചെയ്യില്ല ceyyilla

Both n'adakkilla [KR, Ār.] and n'aḍappiḷa [E] Bh] exist in Mal.

From the earliest extant texts downwards, these negatives have remained without personal endings in Mal:— അറിഞ്ഞില്ല ariññiḷa [US, I, 28], അറിവ് വന്നില്ല ariṇu varṇiḷa [RC, 35]; പത്രം വെച്ചില്ല putṭar bhaviccilla [KR, Bāl., 13]; വരുവില്ല varuvilla taḷaṛccayum [RC, 721].

3. ചെയ്യയില്ല ceyga-y-illa, based as it is on ചെയ്യ ceyga [verbal noun type, so popular in Mal.] is unique. KR [Bāl., 5] and US [I, 133] and RC [709] already have representatives of this type which is also so very common today to express the negative tense-idea.

4. The following “prohibitives” are special Mal. formations with negative significations, constituted of the old affirmative infinitive participle of the verb-base and negative forms:—

(i) ചെയ്യാല്ല cey-y-olla [ceyya+olla—Note elision of the final -a of the inf. participle]

olla is the aoristic negative form of ol. This occurs in the earliest texts like US, RC, KR, etc.

It has assumed even the form ചെയ്യാല്ല cey-g-olla in some Mss. of KR [cf. Kišk., 101].

അക്കല്ലാതെ ōṟk-ollādē [KG, Kams., l. 590] ആക്കല്ലാതെ [KG, Rugm., l. 298], കൊല്ലാതെ kollollādē [Bh Bh, I, p. 15],

1 The old commentator of V regards [comm. on Sutra 11 of V, Dhātup] നടക്കിലേൻ etc. as a present tense negative type; but the instances in Middle Tam. texts show the future meaning, generally speaking; and this perhaps is more in fitting with the future-denoting force of -g, as in എൻകേ etc.

തൃജിക്കൊല്ലാതേ tyajikkollāde [ib., p. 108] are peculiar formations, with ollāde on the analogy of n'illāde, ceyyāde.

(ii) ചെയ്യല്ലേ ceyyallē, a very common prohibitive in the colloquial today, is a type represented only in texts after the period of E. The older texts including E. use generally the type ചെയ്യാല്ല ceyyollā; but എത്തില്ലേ ettidallē is a rare instance met with in Rām. camp., Sitāpari., gadya. കൊതിക്കല്ല kodikkallē, തൃജിക്കല്ല tyajikkallē occur in Kunjan's Tuḷ. Such forms occur in other texts of this and the following periods. Perhaps, this type is a derivative from the type ചെയ്യാല്ല ceyyollā; for, I find forms like വയ്ക്കാല്ല vaikkollē in the 17th century Paḍappāṭṭu [p. 11] and in Bṛhaspativākyaṃ. These perhaps stand for the transitional stage through which ceyyollā changed to ceyyallē.

(iii) ചെയ്യവേണ്ട ceyya vēṇḍā, contracted to ചെയ്യേണ്ട ceyyēṇḍā, is quite common.

Forms like വൈകാതവേണ്ട vaigāda vēṇḍum [C.S., 1, 109], പിഴചെയ്യാവേണ്ട piḷa ceyyyāga vēṇḍum [RC, 322] and ഒക്കണ്ടാതേ oṟkkāṇḍādē [KG. Gōvardh., l. 270] went out of use even in the Old Mal. period.

(iv) ചെയ്യരുതു ceyyarudu acquired its meaning of 'prohibition' from an early period in Mal. [See, ch. IV § 1, 2 (b)]. It is an indispensable 'prohibitive' in modern Mal. colloquial.

(v) A number of other collocations originally denoting 'inability' or 'impossibility' have come to acquire the signification of 'prohibition' in present-day Mal. in which both meanings occur according to the context.

ചെയ്യുക ceydu kūḍā [corresponding to Tam. ceyya-k-kūḍādu; for the Mal. use of ceydu instead of ceyya, see §7] is used in the old texts only with the meaning of 'inability', 'incapacity' or 'impossibility', as in വചിച്ചുക വാചിച്ചുക vaciccu kūḍā [KG, Pūt., l. 93], കണ്ടുക kaṇḍu kūḍā [Kaly., 27], വാഴ്ത്തിക്കുക vāḷttik-kūḍā [Rām. camp.], ചൊല്ലിക്കുക colli-k-kūḍā [E. Bh.]. This collocation, however, besides being employed in the older sense, has come to be used sometimes as a prohibitive also: വരുത്തിക്കുക എന്നു കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു varutti-k-kūḍā [KU, p. 31].

Another similar construction which originally had the signification of 'incapacity', 'inability' or 'impossibility' but

which in some contexts today means 'prohibition' (though in others it also has the older meaning) is constituted of the infinitive participle and the aorist negative *vaiyā* [←*vahi-y-ā*, the base being an adaptation from Skt. *vah-* in a "generalised" sense.] The "generalised" meaning appears in old instances like the following:—

നടക്കുവഹിയാഞ്ഞു വയോധികനാതം *n'adukka vaiyāññu* [VR, p. 79]; എണ്ടിതയിലും വഹിയാഞ്ഞു *eṇḍiṣayilum vaiyāññu* [Tull, p. 627]; വയ്യാതുളളൊരു ഭാഷകൊളും *vaiyāduḷḷoru* [Tull, p. 372].

ചെയ്യാൻമേലം *ceyyān mēlā* is a type occurring today in Travancore colloquials with the signification of 'inability' and sometimes also that of 'prohibition'. I have not been able to find instances in the texts before the 17th century:— അങ്ങു വരാൻ മേലം *varān mēlā* [VR, p. 260] 'inability'; അനങ്ങാൻ മേലാഞ്ഞു *anaññān mēlāññu* [Tull, p. 238]; അനക്കാൻമേലാതേ *anakkān mēlāde* [ib., p. 242]; നടപ്പാനും മേലാത്ത *n'adappānum mēlatta* [Sabhāpr., l. 709].

I consider that this type perhaps owes its origin to juxtapositions like *varuvānum-ēlā*, which collocations popular etymology may have converted to *varuvān mēlā*, whereby *mēlā* was isolated.

ēlā, the aoristic negative of *ēl-*, appears in old texts frequently:—എലം *ēlā* [KR, Sund., 194]; പലക്കും എലം ഇതു *palaṅk-kum ēlā idu* [Eḷ Bh]; അവൻ ഒന്നും എലായ്കൊണ്ടു *avan on'n'um ēlāyga-konḍu* [Bhāg. p. 79].

(vi) The Tamil singular prohibitive type *ceyyādē* 'do not thou do' appears to have been used by Old Mal. authors. Perhaps it was not universal in Malabar, as it has died out today except in south-eastern taluks of Travancore, where the influence of Tamil is still very strong:—

collāde [Eḷ Bh.]; *akkollādē* [KG, Rugm, l. 298], *tyajikkollādē* [BhBh].

5. The following types of negatives are no longer current today:—

- (i) മുറിച്ചതാമല്ല *murippadāmalla* [RC, 757]
- സാധിക്കാമല്ല *sādhikkām-alla* [Kaly, 51]
- പകഴ്ത്താമല്ല *pugaḷttāmalla* [Rām camp.]
- അടക്കാമല്ല *aḍakkāmalla* [ib.]
- ആക്രമിക്കാമല്ല *ākṛamikkāmalla* [Eḷ Bh, p. 359]

(ii) Participial nouns with -alla:—

ഞാൻ പുകഞ്ഞേനല്ല *nān pūgun'n'on-alla* [KG, Rugm, 1066]

ചിത്തുന്നോളല്ല *cīndun'n'ōlalla*, ചെല്ലത്തല്ല *cellun'n'ūd-alla* [KG].

കുടുന്നോളല്ല *kūḍun'n'on-alla* [E. Cint., p. 22]

ചെയ്യുന്നോളല്ല *ceyyun'n'onalla* [ib.]

(iii) കാണത്തല്ല *kāṇun'n'ū-v-alla* [BhBh, 1, p. 102]

ചെയ്യത്തല്ലകിൽ *ceyyun'n'ū-v-alleṅgil* [BhBh.]

(iv) അറിയാമൽ *ariyāmal* [KR, Kišk, 151] അല്ലാൽ *allā* [KR, KBhr, BhG], ചെയ്യാവിടில் *ceyyā-vidil* are Tamilisms used by Kaṇṇaśśan.

6. The negative relative participle with -ā, already occurring in Tamil, is met with in compounds:—

ആകുലമിലാതപതി *ākulam-ilā nṛpāti* [K Bhr, p. 107], എല്ലയിലാതണം *ellayilā guṇam* [KR, Utt.], ചാകാച്ചാവ *cāṅṅā-c-āvu* [Rām. camp., Sitāpai, 64]; today, this form occurs only in proverbs and in a few compounds: —മിണ്ടാപ്പുഴ *miṇḍā-p-pūcca* [MP, No. 665]; ഇഷ്ടമല്ലാപ്പണ്ണ *iṣṭamallāppenṇu* [MP, No. 151]; നേടാപ്പാൻ *nēḍāppon* [MP, No. 478]; അടാച്ചാക്കുൾ *aḍāccākkūḷ* [MP, No. 84]; ഉപ്പില്ലാപ്പഥം *uppillāppathyam*; കമ്പിയില്ലാക്കമ്പി *kambiyillāk-kambi*.

7. Among negative participial nouns, I must single out here for special mention the type *varāttu* [< *varāttadu*] which, though absent as such in Old Mal., appears in early New Mal. from about the period of VR :—പേടിയത്തു് *pēḍiyāttu* [VR, p. 204]; എന്തുകൊണ്ടത്തു് *duhkamillāttu* [Girij., p. 57]; എത്രപോരത്തു് *pōrāttu* [ib., p. 73]; എന്തിനകൃപയില്ലത്തു് *kṛpayillāttu* [Tull.]

CHAPTER V. MISCELLANEOUS MAL: FORMATIONS

1. മംളം ṭḷam.

This form is used in Mal. for denoting 'limit' after the future relative participles and other words. Its history is traceable in Mal. itself.

The early Middle Tam. *aḷavu* denoting 'limit,' as in *ucci aḷavu* [Tēvāram], etc. was employed as *aḷav-um* (with the *samuccaya -um*) very commonly in the inscriptions, in RC and in the works of the Paṇikkars to denote 'limit':- *അവനതു പണ്ണമളവനളം paṇṇumaḷavu* [TAS, II, p. 194—10th c.]; *പുറം തടങ്ങി ഒന്നത്തളവം ṭṇatt-aḷavum* [TAS, II, p. 47—10th c.]; *വരമളവം varum-aḷavum* [KR, Bāl., 123]; *ആമളവം ām-aḷavum*; *ഇൻമളവം ind'-aḷavum* [KBhr, p. 144]; *പുമളവം pūm-aḷavum* [RC, 224]; *നിതിചരപരിയളവം n'iṣicarapuri-y-aḷavum* [RC 97].

The exact origin of *aḷavum* was lost sight of; forms with *-aḷam* were perhaps formed on the basis of the feeling that *-vum* (of *aḷavum*) stood for *-m-um*—as in *maravum* from *maram-um*. These forms with *-aḷam* also exist in RC and in the works of the Paṇikkars:— *വേണ്ടമളം vēṇḍum-aḷam* [KR, Sund.]; *ആമളം āmaḷam* [RC, 86 = āgum-aḷam]; *അനളം anṇaḷam* [KR, Utt.]; *കുറുത്തനളം kūṛarudāḷam* [ib., 258].

The *-m-* of the constructions with the future rel. participles appears also reduced to the bilabial fricative in other instances in the same texts:— *ആവളവം āvaḷavum* [KR, Ār., 109]; and the *-va-* so formed appears to have been modified as *vō* (cf. *avan* > colloq. *ṭn*):— *തളരവോളവം tālaruvōḷavum* [RC, 307], *ആവോളവം āvōḷavum* [KG, Rugm., l. 114]. KR, Ār. has also *ആമോളം തുറന്നമം āmōḷam*.

The form, thus isolated as *ṭḷam*, was used later analogically in connection with other words and forms, as in *ഇന്നയോളം inṇa-y-ṭḷam*, *കേട്ടോളം kēṭṭṭḷam* [the type of the past rel. participle followed by *ṭḷam* does not exist before KG], *വിട്ടിൻ-ṭḷam*, *ആത്-ṭḷam*, *in'n'ale-y-ṭḷam* etc. VR., p. 352, has even *എന്നടെ ജീവൻ മക്കവോളത്തിന്നു gamikkuvōḷatti-num*, where the augment-*att-* and the directive fourth case ending *-in* have been embodied.

2. എന്നിയെ En'n'iyē

From about the time of BhBh and the campus, Mal. has the forms എന്നിയെ en'n'iyē, എന്യെ enye signifying 'without'. In the older texts this appears as ind'i or inñi which corresponds to the Tam. conj. participle of il- when il is regarded as a verb base. Since KR and other early texts have inñi or ind'i [ദിനതജ്ഞി dīnata inñi, KR, Ār., 55], the form en'n'iyē [BhBh, I, p. 97] and en'yē are developments of original in'n'i-y-ē with a dissimilative change of initial i to e.

3. മതി MADI

Mal. uses madi to express the idea of 'enough'. mati in Skt. means 'mind', 'understanding, etc.; and as a loan in Mal. [and in Tam.] it has the meanings 'estimate, extent', as in vila madi-kk- 'to estimate the price', irakku-madi, etc.

The process whereby the term came to mean 'enough' in Mal. is made clear by the use in the old texts of madi varum [cf. Ēkādeśimāhā., I, 2, 4] and madi pōrum 'enough' < 'estimated desire will reach fulfilment' [KR, Ār., 55]. Even E. uses it in Bh. in കണ്ണാ മതിപോരും നിന്നുടെ വീക്ഷണം madi pōrum n'innuḍe vīryaṇṇa]. cf. also madi āgum. āgum, varum and pōrum [which last form does duty for 'enough' in Tam. colloquial (Middle Tam. pōd- and pōr 'to go, reach' 'to be sufficient', derived from Old Tam. pō-tar- 'to go, reach, etc.') and is occasionally employed in Mal. texts also (cf. Rām. camp., Udyān., 55)] were dropped, and madi alone has come to mean 'enough' in Mal. Pūṇḍānam has madi pōrāṇṇ- in Santānagō. [Pāṭṭ., p. 126]; but since madi by itself occurs with the meaning of 'enough' in the earliest Old Mal. texts, the occasional use of madi pōrum by E. and of madi pōrāṇṇ- by Pūṇḍānam is certainly "archaic". മതിയുണ്ടാ madi-y-uṇḍu also exists in Old Mal. [Rām. camp., Tāḍ., 30].

4. ETṚA, ATṚA. ITṚA

എത്ര etṛa (how much), ഇത്ര itṛa (this much), അത്ര aṭṛa are Mal. forms that have been current in the west coast from the period of the earliest texts. Both Gundert and KP explain them as being constituted of the demonstratives [and the interrogative

1 A form and'i appears in some of the editions of the works of the Paṇikkars; this corresponds to Tam. അന്തി, the conj. past participle of al (when al is treated as a verb here).

e] and tira. This word tira, so far as I can see, occurs nowhere in the texts with the meaning 'quantity or measure'; nor do the meanings of Tam. tirai justify the postulate that tira is at the back of atra, itra.

The fact that the Niraṇam Paṇikkars [who, be it noted here, did use Tamilisms] use only അത്തന attana, ഇത്തന ittana, എത്തന ettana in their writings for atra, itra, etra might be noted here. Cf. also എത്തിനയം ettinayam in a citation from an Old Mal. poem in L, 4, 2, comm., and എത്തനക്കാലമുണ്ടു ettana-k-kālam-uṇḍu in an extract in L, 4, 22, comm..

5. ഒരിക്കൽ ORIKKAL

Mal. orikkal is normally descended from the stage represented by Middle Tam. oru-k-kāl.

The older forms in Mal. are the following ഒരുക്കൽ orukkal [TAS, VII, p. 113—early 13th c.]; orikkāl used in RC, 13; in KBhāg., p. 256; in US [2, 94]; in Lil. [cit.] 4, 2 and 4, 15; in Rām. camp., Udy., 59.

The change of u to i is supported by instances like Mal. irikk [Tam. iru-kk-], pōriga [Tam. pōr-u-ga], orikkōl [Tam. oru-k-kōl 'one "kōl" or measure], etc.

For the shortening of the vowel in kāl, cf. the locative postposition kal of Mal., normally going back to kāl.

6. THE CONDITIONAL TENSE FORMED OF THE PAST STEM AND

എൻ, എൻ ഏയിറുൻ'നു.

This conditional tense, a unique formation in Mal, is very common in the colloquials today. In the Cochin State (and in Malabar), it appears in instances like the following:—

ഞാൻ എടുത്തേനെ ഏൻ എടുത്തേൻ 'I would have (or might have) taken' (if something had happened); എടുത്തേനായിരുന്നു എടുത്തേയിറുൻ'നു 'he might have taken'.

In certain regional colloquials of Travancore [cf. Mathen's Mal. Grammar, pp. 164 and 165], the affix appears as -ēnam, as in എടുത്തേനം എടുത്തേനം.

1 ഇതിരി ittiri 'very small quantity' of modern Mal. [occurring in the texts from about El's time, as in El Bh, p. 374] may have been a derivative of ഇത്ര.

I have found the following illustrations in the texts:—

അച്യുതൻ ഭാനംചെയ്തേനേ acyutan dānam ceydēnē [Bh Bh, 2,
p. 125.]

കൊണ്ടെന്ന് ഹന്ത തന്നേനേ koṇḍan'n'u tan'n'ēnē [Irupatt. Rām.,
9, 27]

കറവു ഭവിച്ചേനേ bhaviccēnē [Tull, p. 92]

പോരായ്ക്കൊരു പേരായേനേ pērayēnē [Tull, p. 418]

എന്റേ ദാരിദ്ര്യം തീർത്തയച്ചേനേ ayaccēnē [Kucel, Vanji., 1 559]

I have not been able to find instances of this tense-type in US, RC, KR, KBhr or in E.

Gundert [Gr., p. 283] suggests that the old infinitive participle ena of en- 'to say' may have yielded the affix in question. Gundert does not notice the Travancore colloquial -ēnam at all in his grammar.

With the materials available, it is difficult to say how far Gundert's suggestion of the origin of the affix approaches the truth. *A priori* one may conceivably postulate a connection between the affix and a form of en- used in a generalised sense; but the exact connection or the character of the ancestral verb-form cannot be determined with the materials now available.

The question becomes somewhat complicated by the existence of a peculiar form expressing the conditional tense-idea in KG:—നന്നിട്ടുടാതെ പോയൊകിൽ വന്നാൻ n'anmaṇi kūḍāde pōyāgil van'n'ānum 'he would (certainly) have come, if he had not gone with the bright jewel' [KG, Syamant., 1. 69] If this van'n'ānum is related to the conditional forms with ēnam or ēnē—which is a conceivable possibility [cf. the concessive affix -ānum and its variant -ēnum- as in എങ്ങാനും eṇṇānum and എങ്ങേനും], —then Gundert's suggestion regarding the affix ēnē may have to be rejected. But KG offers only one instance² of the type of van'n'ānum with the conditional meaning, and I have been unable to locate any similar instance in any other Old Mal. text.

1. Viewed purely from the standpoint of phonetics, -ആനും and -എനും may originate in other ways also: cf. colloquial ഇല്ലാനും or ഇല്ലേനും from ഇല്ലതാനും.

2. KG uses other constructions to bring out the conditional idea:—യാചിച്ചു നിന്നാകിൽ തന്നുതാൻ [Kucel, 1. 342], കാർമ്മകിൽവണ്ണനെ കാണുന്നതാകിൽ എൻകാളും എല്ലാമേ സംധിച്ചുതും [Saubhadr., 1. 114]

7, THE PARTICLES e, ē, o AND ā

e and ē

In writing, very often the long and the short sounds are mixed up; but it is quite possible to differentiate the short e from the long one, with reference to the origin of each. The reason for the mixing-up of the long and the short sounds in Mss. is that very often the original short e was itself lengthened as the result of stress.

Short e

(a) The accusative e of Mal. is a short suffix, derived as it is from older -ai (or a palatal a, as some maintain). The shortness of this e is expressly pointed by Līl., 2, 11 commentary: *dwitīyo yathā*:—"ānaye", "marattine"; *atra ekaro hraswah*.

Similarly, the e of the Mal. genitive singular *uḍe* and *nd'e* should be singular in view of their origin. The source of these affixes is Middle Tam. *uḍaiya* which appears as *uḍai* also.

കുറു *kuṛe* from *kuṛaya* [the latter occurs as such in *Girij.* and other works], colloquial പാല *paḷe* from *paḷaya*, having short e, may be compared.

The accusative e, the final sound of the genitive *uḍe* and *nd'e* (as also the final short e of *kuṛe*) may, when stressed, appear lengthened; but, in origin, the e here is short.

(b) The old infinitive participles like *ēre*, *vaḷare*, *aḍukke*, *pōle*, *kūḍe*, etc. which are used in Mal. with the force of different parts of speech [See Ch. IV, §7], have a final short e only. The final sound of these forms is derived from a short a which is the value given to it in Tamil [=colloquial Tam. ə]. This is proved by the fact that in the older works and in old Mss., the forms appear as *ēra*, *vaḷara*, *pōla*, etc.

This e may also appear lengthened under the influence of of semantic stress.

(c) Another original short e is the final of the following occurring as the first constituents of compounds:—*paṇḍe* [as in *paṇḍe-k-kālam*], *tale-n'ā*, *piṭṭe*, *maṭṭe*, which forms are to be derived respectively from *paṇḍai*, *talai*, *piṭṭai* and *maṭṭai* [cf. Tamil forms with -ai]. Here too, semantic stress may lead to the lengthening of e, as in *maṭṭē-k-kāryam*, *paṇḍēdu*, *talēn'ā*.

Cf. Mal. വരെ vare "till", പിന്നെ pinne, നല്ലെ n'āle with Tam. varai, pinnai, n'ālai.

Long ē

(a) The qualificatory ē of the phrasal constructions having the locative endings il and āgal, is derived from the terminative expletive ē appearing after these and other endings (like അതിനാലേ adināle, etc.) in old Mal. texts. This ē is a long one. In Mss., however, the sound is sometimes represented short.

The ē of -attē, of the type of kōḷikkōṭṭē-s-sabha and of the rare genitival type of n'āṭṭāre, is (as already pointed out by me in Chap. I, § 10) analogical in origin.

The ē appearing after directives and "local" words like വടക്കേ vaḍakkē, അങ്ങേ aṅṅē, മേലേ melē, കീഴേ kiḷē, in origin, is "emphatic" ē corresponding to the tēṭṭram ē of Tam. [N, 354]. Cf. (b) below.

(b) The emphatic ē [always long, though represented in Mss. and in print sometimes as a short sound], appearing in words like the following, corresponds to Tam. tēṭṭram ē.

(i) After pronouns:—

അയാൾ തന്നെ ayaḷ tannē, ആരും ഇല്ല ārumē illa, എന്തും eḍumē.

(ii) After verb-forms:—അതർചെയ്യേ ceyyē [RC], ചെയ്യവേ cattuvē, ceyyollāyē [KG], കൊല്ലവേ kollumē, ചെയ്യല്ല ceyyallē, ചെയ്യരുതേ ceyyarudē, കൈവേ okkavē, പോലവേ pōlavē, എടുക്കണേ eḍukkanē [> eḍukkanamē], വന്നോട്ടേ van'n'ōṭṭē [permanently embodied].

(iii) After other words:—

ഇല്ലെ illē ഒട്ടമേ oṭṭumē, എപ്പേരുമേ eppērumē, അതേപ്രകാരം adē prākāram, ഒരേ കാര്യം orē kāryam, പല ആളുകൾ palē āḷugal.

(iv) After words denoting "direction", as a result of which the ē has come to be associated sometimes with a "local" meaning in Mal.

മേലേ mēlē, മുമ്പേ mumbē, പിമ്പേ pimbe, പരമേ puṛamē, അകമേ agamē [occurring in old texts], വഴിയേ vaḷiyē [both in Old and in New Mal.].

(c) A "disjunctive" or "restrictive" ē, connected with the "emphatic" ē occurs in the following; cf. Tam. pirinilai ē [TC, 257 and N, 354].

(i) After verb-forms:—

നടക്കുകയേ വേണ്ടു n'adakkugayē vēṇḍū, പോകേ ഉള്ളു pogē ullū, ഓടിയപോലേ വീഴുകയുള്ളു ṭḍiyālē viḷugayullū.

(ii) After other words:—

അതേ adē 'yes' [here ē is permanently embodied, as also in atrē below, used with a specialised syntactic function], മാത്രമേ mātramē, അത്രയേ atrayē and അത്രേ atrē.

(d) The interrogative ē [Tam. vinā ē; N, 354] occurs in the following:—

വന്നില്ലേ? van'n'illē

[The difference between this form and വന്നില്ല van'n'illē with the emphatic ē is brought out in speech by a difference in the intonation of the forms].

എന്തേ endē 'what' > "why", ആരേ ārē, വരികയേ varigayē or വരികേ varigē, കൂടേ kūḍē [< kūḍayē], പോരേ pōrē, വയ്യേ vayyē, ചേണ്ടേ vēṇḍē, രാമനല്ലേ rāmanallē.

[These instances of negative questions, mentioned above, may appear (see below) with ō also, as വന്നില്ലയോ? van'n'illa-y-ō, വേണ്ടയോ? vēṇḍa-y-ō, etc.; but there exists a slight difference in connotation: the questions with ō imply greater certainty or expectation on the speaker's part about the happening of the action referred to. Van'n'illayō would, for instance, imply that the speaker expects somebody to have come; while van'n'illē need not always (though sometimes it may) convey this expectancy.]

അല്ല allē appears also as allī, and as allallī, alla-y-allī, ill-allī, illa-y-allī from a very early period in Old Mal.

(e) The vocative ē:—

ബാലേ bālē, രാജാവേ rājavē, ഉള്ളോയേ ullōyē, ഉള്ളോവേ ullōvē, എ! ഇവിടെ വരികേ ē! iviḍe variga, എന്താ ഹേ endā hē.

(f) The poetic expletive or pādapūraṇa ē:— The Niraṇam Paṇikkars employ this ē plentifully in Mal. ചിട്ടയൊട്ടിനിയെന്നേ viḷayāṭṭ-ini-y-en'n'ē, ചൊന്മൊരിയെന്നേ cen-cōri-y-aṇindē, വരുന്ന കൂടേ varun'n'adu kaṇḍē. Cf. the isai-nirai ē of Tamil [N, 354].

(g) Interjectional ē:— എന്നേ ennē, അയ്യേ! ayyē 'shame!', അമ്മേ ammē.

(h) Augment ē:— പത്തേകാൽ pattē kāl 'ten and one-fourths'

- (i) Colloquial n'an'n'e < n'an'n'ay
 „ van'n'e! < van'n'u vey 'come along'.

Sūtra 354 of Nannūl envisages for the literary Tamil ē the following syntactic functions:—Disjunction, question, terminative expletive, emphasis (or 'clearness'), poetic expletive and reckoning. All these except the last are represented in Mal. It may be noted that in Mal. (i) the activity of the interrogative is much greater than in Tam. [modern coll. Tam. more generally uses -ā !], (ii) the terminative expletive ē and the emphasis-denoting ē have been requisitioned as a qualificatory ē in phrasal units; (iii) the emphasis-denoting ē has almost assumed a "locative" value in valiyē, puramē, etc.; and (iv) the mere terminative expletive ē is not frequent in modern Mal., though KG and other old texts use it very commonly [modern Tam. has it in viṭṭilē. adinālē, etc.]

The particle. ̐.

This is always long in Mal. This fact is adverted to by Līl. in the commentary on sūtra 1 of the third śilpa:— "p̐" "ayyō" ityādaḥ hraswasya o- kārasya prayogo na nyāyyah.

- (a) Interrogative ̐, very active in Mal.

വന്നുവോ? van'n'uvō, ഓടിക്കോ? oḍiṭṭō, ഇല്ലയോ illayō, അല്ലയോ allayō.

Affirmative tense-forms in Mal. use only ̐ for questions. Literary Tam. has the interrogative ē, but the modern colloquial has -ā, generally speaking.

- (b) Closely connected with the above is the "doubt-denoting" ̐ of the following:—

ആരോ വന്നു ̐ van'n'u, ആവോ ̐ avō, എന്തൊപറഞ്ഞു endō paraññu, എട്ടോ മമ്പേരതോ eṭṭō onbadō, ഓടിക്കോ ചാടിക്കോ കാൽ ഒടിഞ്ഞു oḍiṭṭō cāḍiṭṭō kāl oḍiññu.

In expressions like ñān āṇō van'n'adu? with a particular intonation, a negative meaning is implied. Tam. [TC 256, N, 355] classifies the meaning separately as edirmaṇai.

- (c) In constructions like യാതൊരുത്തൻ അതു ചെയ്തുവോ അവൻ... yādoruttan adu ceyduvō, avan. . .

(d) പോകയോ നാം pōgayō [KG, Vēṇ., l. 112] has the force of a polite imperative; such optative forms with ̐

occur in other chapters of KG [e. g., Gōp., 2, l. 127] and in Rām. camp.

(e) -allō, in the following, conveys the “certainty” of the speaker in such a way as to induce the person spoken to, to share the same degree of certainty about it: പോയല്ലോ pōyallō, allā-y-allō, all-allō.

allayō is different from allō in that the former sometimes implies a doubt or a question, which the latter does not.

വന്നില്ലല്ലോ van’n’illallō ‘he certainly did not come’; മനുഷ്യജന്മം എടുത്തുകൊണ്ടാണല്ലോ അയാൾ മരിച്ചതു mṇuṣajanmam eḍuttadu koṇḍ-āṇallō ayā mariccadu; രാമൻ അല്ലല്ലോ rāman allallō.

(f) In the following, ō distinguishes a particular aspect from the others:—

ഉടനോ അയാൾക്കില്ല ūṇō ayāḷkilla, ഓടിയോലോ വിഴുറ്റിയില്ലോ vīḷum.

(g) ō is in some areas heard in Mal. today as a vocative particle, though this is not perhaps universal.

നാരായണം n’ārāyaṇō, ശങ്കരൻ śaṅkarō; eḍō, of course, is characteristically Mal.

(h) Interjectional ō:—അച്ചോ accō, അയ്യോ ayyō.

(i) Colloquial വന്നോ van’n’ō > van’n’u kol; East Mal. ഓ ō ‘yes’.

The particle ā.

(a) In questions conveying ‘doubt’:—

ചക്കയാ cakkayā, വീട്ടിലേക്കോ vīṭṭilekka, കുളിക്കുന്നു kuḷik-kānā, മുറിഞ്ഞു വീണിട്ടു murinṇadu vīṇiṭṭā, പോകയാ pōgayā, ഇപ്പോൾ വന്നോ ippōḷ van’n’adā.

In colloquial expressions like അവൻ ആ ഓടുന്ന avan ā ṭḍun’n’u, ā is perhaps the demonstrative itself.

(b) In vocatives:—എടോ eḍā, രാമോ rāmā.

(c) Exclamatory: അതോ adā, ഇതോ idā.

(d) The polite imperatives with -ga, -kka have in some old texts [cf. Eḷ Cint.] a long ā as final, on account of stress:—അനികാ ariḡā, ചൊൽകാ colga [Sabhā, l. 444].

(e) For the neg. suffix ā of Mal., see above.

(f) In some Mss. of RC, the old infinitive participle with a, is written sometimes with a long-ā:—ഉടമ്പു വകയ്ക്കു നിളാ niḷā [650], തുചിത്തിരതനയൻ ചൊല്ലാ collā [672], etc.

CHAPTER VI. THE LANGUAGE OF SOME MAL. CLASSICS.

I. THE MORPHOLOGY OF Uṇṇun'ṭiṣandeṣam.

Inflexions.

1. The use of saṃskṛtīkṛta bhāṣā forms like māḍambīnām, uṇṇun'ṭīm vēṇirun'n'u, etc.
2. The rather rare use of nd'e, the singular genitive; there are only three instances in the text.
3. eññaḷ-, as the "oblique" form; ñaṇṇaḷ is non-existent.
4. The inflexional stem of the neuter plural ava appears as avayitt-.
5. The use of the comparisonal kkaḷ with the locative, as in paṇḍēdīl-k-kkaḷ beside normal paṇḍēdīne-k-kkaḷ [with acc.].
6. The rarity of instances with the qualificatory ē.

Verbs.

1. Old bases like vel-, kuṇikkoḷ-, uḷar-, tēṇ-, etc.
2. Older forms of val-, en-.
3. Arudu is used exclusively in the older sense.
4. Present tense ending appears as ind'-.
5. The presence of personal endings for tense-forms, beside those without such endings.
6. Second personal sing. tense-forms without y of the personal ending, as in māṭṭinā, vend'ā, etc.
7. The Tamil type ceyyalām beside Mal. ceyyān.
8. The use of the um-tense for third personal rational plural forms.
9. The ū-tense in the imperative kēḷpū.
10. Optatives like velvūd-āga.
11. Constructions like colvunḍu.
12. Negative tense-inflected forms like aṇṇayind'idu, allāṇṇu etc.
13. The frequent use of the older infinitive participle.
14. Orikkāḷ [later Mal. orikkal].

2. CHIEF MORPHOLOGICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE Niraṇam Paṇikkars.

A. Tamilisms.

A number of features in the works of the Paṇikkars appear to be far more Tamilistic than is warranted by the development of Mal. during their time. Some of these may have been used out of deference to the Tam. literary tradition, while others may have been regionally current in parts of Travancore at that time.

The test that I have applied to find out whether a particular feature was a Tamilism or not during the period of these writers [viz. late fourteenth century] is to examine whether the feature concerned is employed frequently in (i) US which chronologically preceded KR, KBhr and KBhāg, etc. (ii) Līl., the commentary on which was composed about the 14th century; and (iii) those early west coast inscriptions in which characteristic Mal. features are conspicuous.

The application of this test reveals the following linguistic features to be Tamilisms. I have confined my observations to Rāma Paṇikkar's works alone; but what I say of Rāma Paṇikkar's works would be true of the language of the other Niraṇam Paṇikkars.

Inflexions:—The dominant use of the sixth case ending uḍaya, of എല്ലാം ellīrum [KR, Kišk., 258], of avayaṭṭ-, etc.

Verbs:—1. Bases of forms like pugaṇ'n'ān 'said', pēṇ-i-iyambinān 'spoke', migunda, viṇḍ- 'having split into parts', mīlvadu 'what returns', etc.

2. Personal endings ōm, īr, ana for the affirmative tense-forms; and personal terminations (wherever they exist) for all aorist negatives.

The use of the so-called cāriyai- an- in the past tense forms of the type of pugund-an-an, uratt-an-an, etc.

3. The present tense with ā-n'ind'- [or as modified into āy-n'ind'-].

4. Past stems like pugaṇḍ, aṇind-, etc.

5. Rel. participles like pōna, āna.

6. "Neuter" participals like n'ilpanavum n'aḍappanavum n'aḍuññi [KR, Kišk., 78]

7. Imperatives like pāṛāy [sing.], kāṇā(y) [sing.]; kāṇīr [plural].

8. Optatives like varuvōy-āga, aṛivōy-āga, ceyvōy-āga.

9. Negative participles with-āmal, as in ceyyāmal, etc.

10. Neg. conditionals like ceyyāviḍil, allāl.

12. Forms like aṛiyādapāḍi, varum-baḍi, ceyda-paḍi.

13. Miscellaneous:—(i) Old compounds like cey-tavam, vaḷar kumbhakarṇan, n'anneṇicēr-irāman, eila-y-illāḡuṇavān, etc.; (ii) ettana, attana, ittana; (iii) anattu; (iv) and'i.

B. Characteristic Old Mal features in NIRAṆAM works.

Inflexions:—The incorporation of the dorsal glide in words like rājāvu, guruvu, bhāryāvu, etc.; the use of āy for the third case as in tampiyum-āyē; the use of directive forms like dikkinu pōyān [modern dikkilēkku pōy], amarulaginu celvan.

Pronouns: eññal- as "oblique" base; nāññal both as nominative and as an "oblique" base; tām, tammōḍu, etc.

Verbs:—1. Bases like peḍukk-, tāḷkk-, vaḷarḷkk-.

2. The present tense with- in'n'-, the intermediate stage through which Middle Tamil -g-ind'- changed to Mal. -un'n'-.

3. The past stem eḷun'in n'-.

3. Negative tense-inflected forms, beside negatives with illa.

4. Neg. relative participles with -ā and -āda [without the geminated surd -tt-].

5. Miscellaneous:—(i) வறமடிவ varumaḷavum, வறமடி varumaḷam, containing the "ancestral" form of -ஊடி -ōḷam.

(ii) மதிபெரும மதி pōrum beside madi.

(iii) ind'i and in'n'i (later Mal. en'n'i).

(iv) the "isainīrai" ௪.

[The kāṇām type; the verbal nouns with -ga, - kka; the um future for third personal "rationals"; tense-forms without personal endings (with and without the expletive -idu); the polite imperatives of the types of variga and van'n'ālum, are features which already exist in the works of the Paṇikkars].

C. Some chief Mal. features not met with in Niraṇam works.

1. Sing. genitive ending (n)d'e. 2. Directives like *adilēkku*, *n'ilattēkku*, etc. 3. Phrasal units of the type of *kāṭṭilē āna*. 4. Future with *ū* is very rare. 5. -um future for the first person. 6. -vān as in *endu-vān*.

3 CAMPU MAL.

Inflections.

1. While *suddhasamskr̥ta* (not only as isolated words, phrases or even as sentences but often exclusively in complete verses) and *bhāṣik̥ta-samskr̥ta*¹ are everywhere common, the *samskr̥tik̥ta bhāṣā* forms such as are met with in some of the works of the earlier *maṇipravāla* period [like US] are absent.²

2. The writers of the great campus show themselves to be adepts alike in composing the most complicated Sanskrit prose and in regaling the reader with the most appealing Malayalam. Some of the gadya passages in Mal. move like cascades and waterfalls. Often they are rich in colloquial expressions; and in a few, the pure "Doric" of the mass-speech is employed.

Some instances of "corruptions" of Skt. forms in the colloquial of the period are the following:—

തെണ്ണിപ്പു *tenṇippu* [Skt. *daṇḍa*], തിവതം *tivadam* [Skt. *divasa*], പ്രാമ്മർ *prāmmar* [Skt. *brāhmaṇa*] in *Rām. camp.*, Vicch.; പലിക്ക *palikka* [denom. verb from Skt. *phala*]; പാക്യം *pākyam* [Skt. *bhāgya*], തവശികൾ *tavaśigaḷ* [Skt. *tapaświn*], കണവതിഹോമം *kaṇavati hōmam* [Skt. *gaṇapati homa*] in *Rām. camp. Aśwam.*; പ്രമത്തൻ *pramattan* [Skt. *brahmadatta*], വേലി *veli* [Skt. *bali*] in *ib.*, *Sitāsway*; കർപ്പം *kerppam* [Skt. *garbha*] in *ib.*, *Rāmav.*,

¹ Compounds of Sanskrit and bhasa words occur in the campus. The principle of forming word-compounds with Skt. and Mal. constituents has existed in Mal. from the earliest times. Many such compounds have been assimilated by Mal. Cf. L., III, 29, commentary. But instances like നാലുമുനംപുളകൈയ്യ [Ram. camp., Asvam., g.], and ആനഭ്രാന്തൻ are certainly remarkable.

2. Candrotsavam, a manipravala work composed certainly after Punam had written his *Rām. camp.*, contains however a few rare instances of native words with Sanskrit endings,—പൊടിഭിഃ [4, 7], വിളക്കമൊടന്യ [3, 129]

gadya 10; വക്കാനിച്ച vakkāṇiccu¹ 'explained' [Skt. vyākhyāna] in ib., Kharav., അക്കോത്രം akkyōttram [Skt. agnihotra] in ib., കിരിശി kiriṣi [Skt. kṛṣi], in b. Aṅg.

Some instances of native words current in the mass-colloquial of the period:—മുണ്ടുണി muṇuṇṇi for viṇuṇṇi; ഉമിഞ്ഞു umiṇṇu for umiṇṇu, കുപ്പനാടു kuppan'āḍu for 'house' in ācāra bhāṣā; പാമ്മൽ paṛammēl for paṛambinmēl.

3. Among the postpositions, the following old ones may be noted:—ആയ്ക്കൊണ്ടു āy-k-konḍu is used not only for 'purpose' as in പോരിനായ്ക്കൊണ്ടു പാർപ്പട്ടു pōrināykkonḍu paṛappetta [Rām. camp., Bālivadh., 28], but also for the simple dative idea as in ജ്യേഷ്ഠനായ്ക്കൊണ്ടു തേയ്ക്കു jyēṣṭhanāy-k-konḍu datwā [ib., Udyān, gadya], and even for the "communicative" case, as in അവനോടൊക്കെയ്ക്കൊണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞു avanōḍ-āy-k-konḍu paṛaṇṇu.

പോക്കൽ pōkkal [which occurs in BhBh, and later in E] and in Cāṇakky.] occurs in the campus [e.g., Rām. camp., Aṅg.].

-എൽ-ൽ [<mēl], restricted to regional colloquials today, in പുഷ്പകവിമാനത്തേൽ puṣpakavimānattēl [ib., Udy., 34], പാമ്മൽ paṛammēl [ib., Aṅg., 6].

തൊട്ടു² totṭu [with the force of പാറ്റി pat't'i or കുറിച്ചു³ kuriccu], in ഞങ്ങളെതൊട്ടു² തേ മനേസേ കോപമുണ്ടാകിൽ ṇaṇṇāle totṭu [ib., Bālivadh., gadya 6.].

4. Old plurals like പാമ്പന്മാർ pāmbanmār [Gajēndr.], മകളർ magalar [Naiṣ. camp., 13], നാലർ nālar, എണ്ണർ eṇmar, etc.

5. Instances with the comparison കാര kār, like the following are peculiar:—മുടികയിലേക്കാരോ muḍigayilē-k kār [Rām. camp., Swarg., gadya.]; മുന്നേക്കാരോ munnē-k-kār [ib., Khar., 65]; ഇതിൽക്കാരോ idil-k-kār [Naiṣ. camp.], ഇതേക്കാരോ idē-k-kār [ib.].

6. എല്ലായിലും eḷḷāyilum, without the augment, is common. പലവും palavum, ചിലവു cilavu [=cilava] also occur.

7. The oblique എങ്ങൾ eṇṇal is occasionally met with in the campus.

1. വക്കാനിക്കു has also suffered a pejoration of meaning in some contexts [Cf. KG രാജസൂയം, I. 310]. This form and some others in the above list may have been Pkt.-derived: cf. L, II, 4, comm.

8. Sanskrit constructions often appear side by side with Malayalam ones in the same sentence. This has led to the adoption sometimes in the Malayalam portion of certain unique Sanskrit syntactic usages.

(i) Sanskrit "casal" concord:—

രാമനേ വേറിടന്നാൽ rāmane vēṛirun'n'al [Rām. camp., Vicch., 54].

വേരൽ പാപ്പെട്ട് vēgāl purappettu [ib., Ayōdhyā.].

രാമാൽ ഭയപ്പെടുക കൊണ്ടു ramāl bhayappeduga-konḍu [ib., Sugr.].

യാത്രാം മുതിർന്നിടന്നാൻ yātrām mudirṇ'n'īdinān [Kalyāṇ., 32.]

In the last-mentioned instances, Sanskrit case-endings themselves are used. The use of Sanskrit inflexional concord in Malayalam instances is, however, comparatively rare.

Instances like ജ്യേഷ്ഠനായ്ക്കൊണ്ടു ഭക്തി jyeṣṭhanāyḱkonḍu datwā [Rām. camp., Udy., gadya] where āyḱkonḍu is pleonastic may have been influenced by Sanskrit "purpose" constructions with postpositions distinguishing the idea of "purpose".

(ii) Sanskrit "concord" between viśeṣaṇa and viśeṣya is imitated in Malayalam constructions. This is more frequent than (i) above.

സുന്ദരിയോടു സിതയോടു sundariyōḍu sītayōḍu

[In Malayalam (and south Dr. speeches generally) the construction should be sundari-y-āya sītayōḍu].

1. Instances of this type occur commonly in Bh Bh:—

രാമകൃഷ്ണന്മാർ രണ്ടു വസ്ത്രങ്ങളെ ധരിച്ചാൽ തങ്ങൾക്കിഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നവരെ [2, p. 22].

ഇരുനൂറു ചേടികളേയും കൊടുത്താൻ വസ്ത്രമേറണമുഷിതന്മാരായവരെ [1, p. 3]

This "concord" is very rare before the campn period; അംബികാ മണവാളനെ അഖിലേശനെ [KR, Bāl., 238] is, however, a rare instance from the works of the Panikkars.

After the campu period, this concord was equally rare, but cf. Unṇāyis' ഭൂതനായകനെ നീ ഭജ മൂലനെ [Na]. Ātt.].

നിതിജ്ഞാനോടു സമന്ത്രനോടു n'tijñanōḍu sumantranōḍu
[Rām. camp., Vicch, 53].

വത്സനെ രാമം valsane rāmam [ib., 67—Here, the Skt. accusative ending is used for the viśeṣya].

ദേവന്നു അക്കോസലേഭ്രന്നു dēvanu akkōsalēḍrannu
[ib., Sugr., 46].

രണ്ടാം മഹേഭ്രന്നു നളന്നു raṇḍām mahēḍrannu n'alannu
[Naiṣ-camp., 2, 7]

(iii) Other Sanskrit constructions.

നിന്നാൽ നിയതേ n'innāl gīyate [Naiṣ. camp., 2, 97].

നിന്നാൽ അനുശ്രയതാം n'innāl anuśrūyatām [Rām. camp. Rāvaṇōdh, 70]

നിന്നോടു മമ പരവാൻ വേല ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും n'innōḍu mama paravān... [Bālivadh.]

ശോകമേ മമ വത്ര śōkamē mama varū [Naiṣ. camp.]

Verbs.

1. The older forms val-, en- and uḷ:-

വല്ലതേ vallāde 'not	ഉളൻ uḷan
being able'	ഉളർ uḷar, ഉള uḷa
വല്ലില vallila	ഉളോൻ uḷōn
വല്ലേൻ vallēn	എന്നു en'n'u 'said'

2. അരുതു arudu employed with the older signification:—

പുഷ്പരതം പൂർത്താൽ puḡaḷarud-ōṭṭāl 'impossible to praise sufficiently' [Rām. camp. Vicch.]

പുഷ്പരതീഭരുതു puḡaḷttīḍarud-[Kalyāṇ. gadya]

അരുതായ്ക്കിൽ arudāygiḷ, അരുതാഞ്ഞു arudāññu, അരുതാതോളം arudāḍōḷam, അരുതായുന്നു arudāyun'n'u are older verb forms based on arudu.

3. Old bases like the following:—

ഇയല ^o iyal-	കരേ karēr-
ഉഴൽ uḷal-	പുലമ്പ ^o pulamb- 'to appear'
തിമിർ timir-kk-	കിരൈക്ക ^o kiḍai-kk-
പിഴക് ^o piḷug-	ചുവത്തു ^o cuvatt-
തഴക് ^o taḷug-	വളക് ^o vaḷar-kk-
മാഴക് ^o māḷg-	അമക് ^o amar-kk-

നിരൈക്കു ^o n'irai-kk-	ആയു ^o āy- 'to attempt'
ഇകഴ ^o igal-	കാരു ^o ōr-
മകിഴ ^o magiḷ-	പെടുക്കു ^o peḍu-kk-
പുക്കഴ ^o pugal-	പൈക്കു ^o pai-kk-
കുറിക്കൊള്ള ^o kuṛi-k-kol-	മേളംതാവ ^o mēḷam tāv-
ഉൾച്ചേരു ^o ul-c-cēr-	മേളം മെത്ത ^o mēḷam mett-
ചെവിക്കൊള്ള ^o cevi-	കൈ മെയ ^o kai mey
k-kol-	മാറാക്ക ^o marakk-
ചെവിത്തരു ^o cevi-t-tar-	ഇളക്കുക ^o iḷa-kol-

4. Personal endings for tense-forms occur in the padya portions occasionally, beside forms without tense-endings. The gadyas generally show forms without personal terminations, though instances like ചൊന്നേൻ connēn, എത്തുവൻ ettuvan, ചൈപ്പൻ vaippan [gadya of Rām. camp., Sugr.] do also occur. The types of tense-forms with personal endings are the following :—

1st person singular past and 3rd person rational (sing. and pl.) past tense forms are fairly common with personal endings.

The second person sing. past and future forms show personal endings in rare instances—തൂനിഞ്ഞായ^o tuniññāy [Rām. camp., Udyān., 80], മുടിഞ്ഞായ^o muḍiññāy [ib., 78], കൊണ്ടീടുവാ^o konḍiḍuvā (y) [with elision of final-y, in Rām. camp., Sugr., 8], മറന്നാ^o maraṇ'n'ā(y) [ib., 65].

1st person sing. present tense and 1st person sing. future tense forms also occasionally show personal endings¹

Among the negative aorist tense-forms, the following are met with:—വല്ലേൻ vallēn [1st person sing.], ആൾ പോരാതോ^o āḷ pōradō [3rd person sing. irr.—Rām. camp., Rāmāva, 87], അറിയാൻ aṛiyār [3rd person rational pl.—bi., Tāḍ., 47]. Except വല്ലേൻ vallēn frequently used in the old *cliches* colla vallen, paṛavān vallēn, etc. the other types of negatives with personal endings are very rare indeed; and the characteristic Mal. negatives without personal endings had of course become quite common.

1. Apart from the above types, affirmative tense-forms do not show personal terminations in the campus. There is little doubt that even these types with personal terminations, met with in the campus, had by this time become purely literary.

5. The aorist tense with *ū* is employed with all Old Mal: syntactic significations:—as an indeterminate tense, in instances like *eññū*, *n'allū* and even *allū* [Rām camp., Sitāpar., 72], in imperatives like *irippū...aṭivū...vaippū...kuḷippū...jivippū* [Rām. camp., Paṭṭābh., 94], or in *kaṇḍāvu*, *puṇaṇn'n'āvu* [Naiṣ. camp. gadya, 1], and in restrictive conditional constructions.

ഓക്കേൺമു *orkkēṇmū* and വരേൺമു *varēṇmū* are (as already pointed out by me) unique forms with *ū* in the campus.

6. Old past stems like *cāṇn'n'*-, *kudaṇn'n'*-, *pugaṇn'* beside *pugaḷn'n'*-, *magiḷn'n'*-, *umiṇn'* beside *umiṇṇ'*-, വിയി *vīyi*.

7. Old infinitive participles like the following:—
നടുങ്ങേ.....കുലുങ്ങേ *n'aḍuṇṇē..... kulunṇē* [Kalyāṇ.], നിവിര ചൊല്ലി *n'ivira-c-colli*, മെയ്യുടെ കലയനടന്നു *kulaya n'aḍan'n'u*.

The verbal noun കാൺക *kāṇga* is employed with an infinitive participle force sometimes:— വാനോർ കാൺക *vānōr kāṇge...* *mudiccu* [Rām. camp., Tāḍ., 25], നീ കാൺകെത്തന്നെ ഞാൻ മരിപ്പൻ *n'ī kāṇge-t-tanne ṇān marippan* [Rāvaṇavij.]

8. Participials used with the force of imperatives, like കണ്ടവിതു *kaṇḍāvidu*, പുണൻവിതു *puṇaṇn'āvidu*, മുകൻവിതു *mugaṇn'āvidu*.

The singular imperative of the type of ചെയ്യാതേ *ceyyāḍē*, occurs in rare instances:— വേദിയതേ *khēdiyāḍē* [Naiṣ. camp. 2, 31].

നം വകയോ *pōgayō* [Udyān., 9] with a gentle imperative force.

9. The concessive with *ennum* is common in instances like *ēdēnum*, *eñṇēnum*, *ārēnum*.

The suffixal -വാൻ *-vān* denoting "doubt" occurs in Naiṣ. camp. in *എതുവാൻ enduvān* [1, 38].

10. Peculiar "relative participial" constructions പാരിശ്ചേം ചില പാറകളും *pāricco cila pāragaḷum* [Rām. camp., Kharav., gadya]; കരഞ്ഞോചില പിള്ളകളും *karaṇṇō cila piḷḷagaḷum* [ib.].

11. The occasional use of participial nouns like കൂട്ടം *kū-ṭṭudum* [Rām. camp., Sugr., 7], കുട്ടം *kūṭṭudum* [Kirātam, 58], beside normal *എന്താവതു endāvadu*, പറവതു *paṭavadu*, etc., and forms with *-idu* like കൈകൾ ഇളക്കുവിതു *kāi kāl iḷakkāvidu* [Kalyāṇ., 27]

12. Negative tense-inflected forms of all types are met with in the campus.

13. The negative aorist with final -ā [for all persons already in Mal. before the period of the campus] is employed in connection with a larger number of words than today:—നാരായണൻ എന്നോടൊപ്പം n'ārāyaṇan ennōḍ-oppā [Rāvaṇavij.], ചെും ovvā [Rām. camp., Rāv.], പൊറം porā [ib., Vicch], ചെും ovvā.

14. Negative formations like പുകഴാമല്ല pugaḷāmallā [Rām. camp., Rāv.], മനസ്സപരോയുന്നതില്ല manasi porāyun'n'adilla [ib., Sugr.], വാഴത്താവതല്ല vāḷttāvadalla [ib., Sitaśway., gadya].

Miscellaneous

മതിയുണ്ടു് mādi-y-uṇḍu [Rām. camp., Kharav., 87] beside mādi; also പോരും pōrum 'enough' [ib.]; ഒരിക്കൽ orikkāl [ib., beside orikkal.

4. PROMINENT OLD MAL. PECULIARITIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF KṛṣṇAGĀTHA

1. Nominal bases:—മാൺപ māṇbu; ചോട്ട് ṛcca; പട്ടാങ്ങു് pa-tṭāṇṇu; നറുങ്ങു് n'uruṇṇu; പുളു് puḷḷu; ആച്ചിമാർ āccimār; കാലക്കം ṭakkam; കോഴ kōḷa; തണു tanma; വായ്പു vāypu; അന്തിമയക്കു് andimayakku; ആനായർ āṇāyar; വീഴ്പുകൾ vīḷpugaḷ; പേ pē; കൂ 'kū (as in കൂ പറയുക kū paṛayuga); ചേവടിത്തെല്ലു cēvaḍi-t-tellu 'the edge of the sacred feet'; അല്ലൽ allal; അത്തൽ attal; ഇടർ iḍar; ഇണ്ടൽ iṇḍal; ചായലാർ cayalār; ഉമ്പർകോൻ um-barkōn; വിണ്ണു vinnu; മാനം mānam [vānam]; തിട്ടതി tiṭṭadi; ചോമൽ ṛmal; പുളു് puḷḷu.

Adaptations from Skt. (or Prakrit):—ഗോഷ്ഠി gōṣṭhi 'assemblage'; native കോട്ടി kōṭṭi sanskritized as gōṣṭhi 'pranks' also occurs in KG; ദീനം dīnam 'wretchedness' [not 'illness']; ശിക്ഷ śikṣa 'instruction' and 'punishment'; അങ്കി aṅgi; വാദ്ധ്യായൻ vāddhyāyan; സംസാരം samsāram (only 'worldliness'); ആഭാസൻ (with the modern meaning); വക്കാനം vakkāṇam (from Pkt; the meaning in KG is 'quarrel'); വാതം vādam 'wind'; സംഗതി saṅgati 'union'; പാണ്ഡരം paṇḍāram; ശിക്ഷ śikṣa in ശിക്ഷയിൽ ശിക്ഷ നൽകവർ.

2. The second case:—(i) ദേശങ്ങൾപിന്നിട്ടു് dēśaṇṇal pinnittu; അമ്പാടി മുനിട്ടു് ambāḍi munnittu; ശിതത്തെ വേറിട്ടു് śidatte vēritt.

(ii) വേളിയെത്തൊട്ടുള്ളൊരുത്സവം *vēliye-t-tottuḷḷōr-ulsavam* ; തമ്പുരാനെത്തൊട്ട് *tamburāne-t-tott-*; വെണ്ണയും പാലും തൊട്ടുള്ള കൊതി *venṇayum pālum tott-*

(iii) കൃഷ്ണനെക്കൊണ്ടു് പറയുക *kṛṣṇane-k-konḍu paṛayuga*; എന്നു കൊണ്ടുള്ള വാക്ക് *en'n'adu konḍ-uḷḷa vāṛtta*; etc.

3. The third case:—(i) *ōḍ-āy-* and *ōḍ-āyittu* in the “com-municative”:— കംസനോടായി ചൊന്നാൻ; താതനോടായിട്ട് ചൊല്ലിനാൻ *tādanōḍāyitt-*; മാതാപിനോടായിട്ട് ചൊല്ലി നിന്നിടീനോർ *māḍavinōḍ-āyitt-*; etc.

(iii) *ōḍ-* in connection with separation:— കൈരോട്ടുവേരാം മണികൾ *kairōḍu vēṛām*; പങ്കജം തന്നോട്ടുവേർപെട്ട് *paṅkajam tannōḍu vēṛpaṭṭ-*.

4. The fourth case:—(i) *-inu* or *-innu* as the dative ending, in പാരിനം *pārinum*, മാലിന്മ് *mālinnu*, വേലിന്മ് *vēlinnu*; but പൈതൽക്കു് *paidalkku*, കുഴൽക്കു് *kuḷalkku*. etc.

(ii) *āy* and *āyitt-* to express the dative idea: ദേവകിക്കായിട്ട് നൽകിനാൻ *dēvakikk-āy-itt-*, സോദരനായ് കൊടുത്തു *sōdarannāy*, ആരണനായിട്ട് നൽകിനാൻ *ārannāy-ittu*, കാട്ടാളനായിട്ട് കാളയായ് നൽകിനാൻ *kāṭṭāḷan-āyittu*.

5. The directives:—(i) മേല്പട്ട് *mēlpattū*, കീഴ്പട്ട് *kīḷpattū*; forms with *-ōttu* like അങ്ങോട്ട് *aṅṅōṭṭu*, തെക്കോട്ട് *tekkōṭṭu* are rare in KG.

(ii) ആമ്മാർ *ām-māṛu* has sometimes a directive force: വിണ്ണിലങ്ങാമ്മാർ *viṇṇil-aṅṅ-ām-māṛu*, വാതില്ക്കലാമ്മാർ *vādilkkal-ām-māṛu*, തേരിലങ്ങാമ്മാർ *teril-aṅṅ-ām-māṛu*.

(iii) നോക്കി *n'ōkki* frequently appears with a directive meaning: കാട്ട് നോക്കി ചാടിനാൻ *kāḍu n'ōkki*, കാനാരം നോക്കി *kāntāram n'ōkki*, അങ്ങ നോക്കി *aṅṅu n'ōkki*, പിൻനോക്കി *pin n'ōkki*, ചോരക നോക്കി *dwāraka n'ōkki*.

(iv) *-innu*, the dative ending, is used “directively” in കാലപുരത്തിന്മ് പുക *kālapurattinnu*.

ēkk and *il-ēkk* or *-iṅgal-ēkk* do not appear in KG at all.

(v) Rarely *āykkonḍu* has a directive meaning: തേരിലങ്ങാ തെക്കോട്ട് *tēril-aṅṅ-āykkonḍu*.

6. The sixth case:— The use of the genitive instead of the dative (cf. Skt.) in ബാലകന്മാരുടെ മീനം ചെയ്തു *bālaṅmāruḍe himsa ceydu*, നിന്നുടെ മാനിവാദത്തെ *n'innuḍe hāni varāḍe*.

7. The seventh case:—(i) മുന്നമേ *munnamē*, തീരമേ *āṣināṁ* *tīramē*, കൂടമേ *kūṭṭamē*, അകമേ *agamē*.

(ii) ഇട *iḍa* as a postposition in കാലിട *kāliḍa*, മനീട *man- niḍa*, etc.

(iii) The frequent use of the 'loose' postpositions ചാരത്തു *cārattu*, അണയത്തു *aṇayattu*, മുന്നൽ *munnaḷ*.

8. The eighth case:—ഉള്ളോനേ *uḷḷōṇē*, ഉള്ളോയേ *uḷḷōyē* and ഉള്ളോവേ *uḷḷōvē*:—

മാലേയച്ചാറും മാറുള്ളോനേ	<i>uḷḷōṇē</i>
അന്ധനായുള്ളോയേ	<i>uḷḷōyē</i>
നിത്യനായുള്ളോവേ	<i>uḷḷōvē</i>

9. Pronouns:—എങ്ങൾ *eṅṅaḷ* as the inflexional stem of ഞങ്ങൾ *ṅṅaṅṅaḷ* is very frequent in KG, beside *ṅaṅṅaḷ* itself.

(ii) *eṅṅaḷ* appears even as a nominative in എങ്ങൾ വസിക്കുന്നു *eṅṅaḷ vasikkun' n'u*, എങ്ങൾ മടിചിപ്പല്ലോ *eṅṅaḷ maḍiccillallō*, etc.

(iii) The following may be noted:—

ഞങ്ങൾ തങ്ങൾ *ṅaṅṅaḷ taṅṅaḷ* 'we ourselves';

സിംഹങ്ങൾ തന്നുടെ *simhaṅṅaḷ tannuḍe* [sing. *tannuḍe* associated with a plural noun];

മന്ത്രിമാർ തന്നുടെ *dantaṅṅaḷ tannuḍe*;

പുണ്യങ്ങൾ തന്നുടെ വൈഭവം *punyaṅṅaḷ tannuḍe*;

മന്ത്രകളല്ലാതെ തന്നുടെ തന്നുടെ *mantrigaḷ-ellārum tannuḍe tannuḍe* [Note, besides the use of the singular *tannuḍe*, the iteration of *tannuḍe*; this is quite common in KG and even in E];

തങ്ങളിൽ തങ്ങളിൽ *taṅṅaḷil taṅṅaḷil*.

10. Verb-bases:—

കാൾ <i>ṛ</i>	പുലമ്പ് <i>pulamb</i> 'to	വീയ് <i>vīy</i>
താവ് <i>tāv</i>	appear'	നണ്ണ് <i>n'ann</i>
മെത്തു് <i>mett</i>	കേഴ് <i>kēḷ</i>	തൻപെട്ട് <i>tapped</i>
ഇയല് <i>iyal</i>	പുകു് <i>pūg</i>	കാങ്ങു് <i>ṛṅṅ</i> 'to appear'
പയറുകു് <i>payatt</i>	മറുകു് <i>māḷg</i>	തുമയ്ക്കു് <i>tumai-kk</i> 'to
ചവയ്ക്കു് <i>cuvatt</i>	ഉഴയ്ക്കു് <i>uḷai-kk</i>	sneeze'

എയ്യുട്-	പതുക്കു padu-kk-	തലപ്പെടു talappedu-
ഓലു് റ്റ-	'to become soft'	മെരിള meriḷ-
കോലു് kōḷ-	എഴു eḷ-	പെണ്ണ penn-
ഓതു് റ്റ-	തഴയ്ക്കു talaikk-	തഞ്ചു taji-
അഞ്ചു añj-	തമിഴു tamiḷ-	

(ii) Adaptations from Skt:— മേളിക്ക mēḷikk-, തംസിക്ക śamsikk-, തേമ്പിക്ക gōpikk-, തേവറിക്ക tēvārikk-, ന്യസിക്ക n'yasikk-, തർപ്പിക്ക tārpiikk-, സമ്മാനിക്ക sammāṇikk- 'to honour', etc.

(iii) പെടുക്കു peḍu-kk-, വളക്കു vaḷar-kk- (beside വളത്തു vaḷartt-), താഴ്ക്കു tāḷ-kk- (beside താഴ്ത്തു tāḷtt-), ഉയക്കു uyar-kk- (beside ഉയർത്തു uyarṭt-), തളക്കു taḷar-kk-, വിടുക്കു viḍu-kk-, വിഴക്കു viḷ-kk- (beside വിഴ്ത്തു viḷtt-)

(iv) The older use of en- in എൻ enmar, എന്നുമോർ ennumbōḷ, എന്മോളം enmōḷam, എന്മൻ enmān, എന്നാൻ (=പറഞ്ഞാൻ) en'n'ān.

(v) val- in വല്ലീല vallīla, വല്ലന്നതു vallun'n'ṭṭu, വല്ലു vallu, വല്ലവോൻ valluvōn, the negatives വല്ലെൻ valliēn and വല്ലാർ vallaṛ, വല്ലാതെ vallaḍe, വല്ലാത്തു vallaḍṇu.

(vi) ol- in ഒല്ലം ollā, ഒല്ലാത്തു ollaḍṇu.

(vii) arud- in അരുതായ്ക്കു arudāyun'n'u, അരുതാത്തു arudāḍṇu, അരുതാതെ arudāḍe, അരുതാതെ arudāḍe.

arudu, preceded by the infinitive participle, exclusively signifies 'difficulty' or 'impossibility' in KG.

11. Personal endings:—Forms with and without personal endings appear; wherever they appear, the personal terminations are of the following types.

Fairly frequent are the following:—First person present and past sing.; third person "rational" past sing. and plural; second pers. past sing.; first person sing. future.

The following are represented, though not very frequent:—

First person present plural നിന്നിടന്നോം n'in'n'īḍun'n'ōm.

Second person present sing. പോകുന്നായോ pōḷgun'u. 'āyō ചരിക്കുന്നായോ cadikkun'n'āyō.

Second person future sing. ചൊല്ലുവായ colluvāy and third person future pl. n'alguvar, കോഴപ്പെടുപ്പർ kōḷappeduppar.

The following are peculiar:—പൊരുപ്പൻ നി *poruppan n'i* ചൊല്ലിനാൻ നി *collinān n'i*, ആക്കിനാൻ നി *ākinān n'i*.

12. Past stems:—തൂങ്ങു് *ṭaṅṅ-*, വീങ്ങു് *viṅṅ-* (beside വീണു് *viṇ-*), തമിങ്ങു് *tamiṅṅ-*, പകുങ്ങു് *pugaṅṅ-*, ഉമിങ്ങു് *umiṅṅ-* (beside ഉമിഞ്ഞു് *umirṇ-*), താങ്ങു് *tāṅṅ-* (beside താണു് *tāṇ-*), വീതു് *viṭ-* of *vi*, ചൊന്നു് *conn-*.

13. Future with -um: ഞങ്ങൾ ചൊല്ലും *ṇāṇṇāḷ collum*, നിങ്ങൾക്കും *n'irṇāḷ kūḍum*, നൽകുന്നി *n'alḷum n'i* are some instances of the use of *um* for the first and the second persons.

14. Aoristic tense with *ū*.—All old types exist in KG. The following formations with analogical *ū* may be noted as almost unique: ഉള്ളിലു *uḷḷilū*, കയ്യിലു *kayyilū*; ഉണ്ടുള്ളു *uṇḍ-uḷḷū* is a peculiar form.

15. The old infinitive participle is represented in most of its old syntactic varieties:—(i) "Simultaneity":—നോക്കി നിന്നിടപേ *n'ōkki n'in'n'īḍavē*, കാണക്കാണ് *kāṇ ikkāṇa*, വീഴ വീഴ *viḷa viḷa*, പൊങ്ങപ്പെടാൻ *poṇṇappoṇṇa*, തുള്ളതുള്ള *tullattulla*; (ii) "Effect":—വേരറപ്പോക്കുവാൻ *vēr-ara-p-pōkkuvā*, ഉള്ള കലങ്ങക്കുഞ്ഞു് *uḷḷam kulunṇa-k-karaṇṇu*, കേൾക്കച്ചൊന്നാൻ *kēḷḷka-c-conṇān*; (iii) with *tuḍaṇṇi*:—ഉഴക്കത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ *uḷḷakattutāṇṇi*, എഴുത്തുടങ്ങി *ēḷḷattutāṇṇi* (beside എഴുന്നു് *ēḷḷan'n'u tuḍaṇṇi*).

16. ആ *āru*, suffixed to relative participles, signifies 'manner'. ആരേ *ārē* in the same context denotes 'time'.

17. Conditionals and concessives:—ചാഞ്ഞിനാൽ *cāṭṭināl*, ലൗതാനാൽ *pulaṇ'n'ūdānāl* are peculiar.

ālum in ആരേലും *ārālum*, *ēlum* in ആരേലും *ārēlum*, *ēnum* in എങ്ങേനും *ēṇṇēnum* etc.

18. Imperatives:—നി കൊറവു *n'i koḷvū*, നി ചൊൽവു *n'i colvū*, നാം വച്ചുകൊറവു *n'āma..koḷvū*, പൂജിച്ചു നാം *pūjippū n'āma*; ഞാൻ മുക്കുന്താവു, ചേർത്തുതാവു *mugaṇ'n'ūdāvū*, *cēṭṭūdāvū*, നാം ആണങ്ങളായവു *āṇuṇṇāḷāyāvū*, ഞാൻ ആരായ്വു *ārāyavū*, അവൻ വന്നാവതു് *van'n'āvūdū*, etc.

19. Third personal appellatives:—ദൂരത്താൻ *dūratton*, പിന്നിലാൻ *pinnilōn*, കാതനം തന്നിലാൻ *kānānam tannilōn*, സപ്പത്താൻ *sappattān*, കറച്ചടയോൻ *kaṭṭacāḍayōn*, വാത്താരിൽ മാതിനെപ്പുണന്ന

മാരടയേൻ mārudayōn, ദുരത്തു dūrattūdu, ചാരത്തു cārattūdu, നല്ലു n'allūdu, എങ്ങു eññūdu, ഉള്ളു ullūdu.

20. Negatives with tense-suffixes:—കാണയിൻ kaṇṇayin'n'u, നടക്കരുതെന്നു arudāyun'n'u, ചൊറക്കരുതെന്നു porukk-arudāyun'n'u.

The past type is quite common.

The future is represented only in participials like ധരജ്ജതിൻ, etc.

Prohibitives like വരായ് varāyga, നില്ലായ്വിൻ n'illāyvin, പോകായ്വിൻ pogāyvin; participles like തൻപെടായ്വാൻ taṇ peḍāy-vān, നേരിടായ്വാൻ n'ēriḍāy-vān.

Aorist forms:—First pers. sing വല്ലേൻ vallēn, നൽകേൻ n'al-gēn, ചെയ്യേൻ cēyyēn.

The second pers. sing and pl. are not met with.

Third person "rational" പോരാൾ porāḷ, നില്ലാർ n'illār, കൈവിടാർ kaividār.

Third person irrational പാറ പാഴ് paṭṭa, വരാ വാഴ varā, എന്താ eṣṣā.

21. Other negatives:—(i) ചെയ്യാല്ലാതെ ceyyollāḍē, മരിക്കാല്ലാതെ marakkollāḍē, വാങ്ങാല്ലാതെ vāḍollāḍē.

(ii) The type പുകഞ്ഞല്ല pūgun'n'ōnalla, ചിത്തന്നോള cīndun'n'ōḷalla, കയക്കന്നല്ല kayarkkun'n'ēḷalla, തോന്നത്തല്ല tōn'n'un'n'ūdilla.

(iii) olla in തൊല്ലാ നാം n'ūḷḷā is used also for the first person.

(iv) വന്നുട്ടോ van'n'u kūḍā, വചിച്ചുട്ടോ vaciccu kūḍā and similar constructions have only the meaning of "impossibility". The more modern signification of "prohibition" does not exist for this type in KG.

(v) കൊല്ലാതെ കൊൾ kollāḍē koḷ, താരാതെ കൊള്ളുവാൻ tāṛāḍē koḷ, കൂമ്പാതെ കൊള്ളുവാൻ kūmbāḍē koḷ.

22. Miscellaneous:—(i) കളിച്ചുണ് കാലിച്ഛുണ്ḍു, വന്നുണ് van'n'unḍu (=modern കളിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ḍു kalicciṭṭunḍu, van'n'iṭṭunḍu).

(ii) വന്നാൻ van'n'ānum with the meaning of 'would have come'.

(iii) A finite with-ūdum stands frequently in KG for the conditional idea expressed today by-ēnē (as in പോയേനേ pōyēnē):—

ആനനം കണ്ടാകിൽ...പുണ്ടുതും താൻ pūṇḍūdum; തോഡവളകൂടകിൽ ഏറം നിറന്നുതും n'īran'n'ūdum; ഇനിതു നൽകകിൽ നന്നായിതു in'n'idu n'alguṅil n'an'n'āyidum; കണ്ടുജ്ജാരാരാനുമുണ്ടായിരുന്നാകിൽ കണ്ണനിരിന്നമേമറാഞ്ഞിതും mṛṇṇidum; ഞാൻ യാചിച്ചുനിന്നാകിൽ തന്നുതും താൻ tan'n'ūdum tān.

5. OLDER FEATURES IN THE LANGUAGE OF EḷUTTASŠAN

Though Eḷuttaššan may be considered as having “ushered in” the New Mal. period, there was no complete break with the past, and several older linguistic features continued to exist in the language employed by this great writer.

I sum up below these older features, particularly those in morphology. Some of these may have been merely due to what one may term “linguistic tradition”, while the others represented the living language of the times. It may not be possible to differentiate these two in all instances, especially in view of the fact that the tempo of the evolution of Mal. varied with regions and communities; but many instances may, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, be classified as “purely traditionary” or “actively colloquial” during the period.

I have cited instances here from Rāmāyaṇam, Mahābhāratam, Cintāratnam, the first nine skandhas of Bhāgavatam, Hari-n'āmakīrttanam and Kaivalyaṇ'avan'itam.

Inflexions.

1. Nominal bases.—Many old bases, not current in modern Mal., occur in Eḷ's works: അന്തൺ andanar, വാൻലകം vāṇu-lagam, ഇണ്ടൽ iṇḍal, ഇടർ iḍar, വിണ്ണാർ viṇṇār, ആയർ āyar, വിള viḷa, പൈ pai [= വിരപ്പ് viṣappu], എപ്പേരും eppērum, അത്തൽ attal, ഉമ്പാക്കു umbarkku, മറയോർ marayār, മാൽ māḷ, തീയതു tīyadu, ചാക്കു cākku ‘death’, കള്ളക്കൊടു kallakkāḍu ‘adharma’, [cf. കൊടായ്ച്ചൊല്ലുക kōḍ-āy ‘wrongly’, ‘imperfectly’ in KG and in Rām. camp.], പാലന്നം pālannam ‘swan’; old compounds like കാലന്തർ kālanūr, പാലൻ കാലന്തർ pālannār kālanmār, നൂറ്റുപേർ nūṭṭupēr, കൊണ്ടൽനേർപ്പുണ്ണ് കൊണ്ടൽനേർപ്പുണ്ണ് kōṇḍal n'ēr varṇṇan, മൈക്കണ്ണി mai-k-kaṇṇi,

കന്നൽ നേർമിഴിയൊരൂ kannal n'ēr miḷiyāḷ, മാൻ നേർമിഴിത്തയ്യലൊരൂ mān n'ēr miḷi-t-tayyalāḷ, മറകളുടെ മറപാതരൂ maarḡaḷuḍe mara-porūḷ, etc.

2. The association with bases of dative -n(u) and -kk(u) had become more or less clearly differentiated by the time of Eḷ; but one finds പോർക്കു pōrkku beside pōrinu, കാക്കു kākku, വിരലു viralkku, തണ്ണീർക്കു taṇṇīrkku, കാലത്തു kālan-tūrkku; but പാരിന്നു pārinnu.

3. The sixth case nḍe has of course become fully evolved but-uḍe is sometimes employed in the stead of nḍe for "prosodic" purposes. The older usage of the type ഭരതൻ തൻ ചൊല്ലൊരുവു bharatan tan col'āle to express the genitive idea is also met with in Eḷ as an "archaism".

4. -uḷḷōvē as a sambodhana ending exists in Eḷ's Bh.

eḍō occurs in Eḷ in connection with both masculines and feminines, with the connotation of 'familiarity without contempt': എന്തെടോ സുന്ദരിയായ നീ endēḍō sundariyāya nī.

5. The plural നീർമ്മാദ്യങ്ങൾ n'irmaryādaṇṇaḷ beside നീർമ്മാദ്യകൾ n'irmaryādagal; മകളർ magaḷar; നാൽവർ, ഏഴുവർ, എണ്ണർ; ഭ്രാതാക്കൾ bhrātākkaḷ, രാജാക്കൾ rājākkaḷ; കുറുക്കാരർ kuralakkārar, ചതിക്കാരർ cadikkārar.

6. The locative postposition pōkkal and the ablative pōkkal-n'in'n'u are met with in Eḷ.

Other old postpositions are cārattu, aṇayattu, agalattu, arigattu.

7. Instances like the following are not unusual in Eḷ: അവിടേക്കാഞ്ഞൊണ്ടിനിപ്പോകുന്നതു aṇiḍēkkāyḱkonḍu; സുഗ്രീവനോടൊത്തൊണ്ടു sugrīvanāyḱkonḍu; അവനോടൊത്തൊണ്ടു ചോദിച്ചൊൻ avanōḍāyḱkonḍu cōdiccān; പുത്രനോടൊത്തൊണ്ടേവം ഉപദേശിച്ചു putrarōḍāyḱkonḍ-upadēśiccu

8. Directives with āyḱkonḍu, n'ōkki, āmmaṇṇu, besides others.

9. The following peculiarities of "casal" concord:

(i) പിന്നിട് pinnid-, മുന്നിട് munnid-, വേറിട് vērid- often govern the accusative.

(ii) 'Separation' is optionally associated with the third case ending ഓട ṭḍu.

(iii) 'Fear' is associated with the fifth case rarely in instances like രാഘവൻ പോക്കൽ നിന്നുള്ള ഭയം Rāghavan pōkkal n'in'n'uḷḷa bhayam.

10. The augment-att- is very commonly employed in the inflexions of the neuter plurals ava, iva pala, ellā. While അവരെ avatte, അവരിൽ avattin, പലരിലും palattilum, ഇവരാരും, etc. are common, forms like അവയിരിലും avayittilum, പലവരിൽ palavattil, etc. do not exist in Eḷ.

എല്ലായിലും ellāyilum without the augment does occur, though rarely.

ഇവകൊണ്ടു ivakonḍu, അവകൊണ്ടു avakonḍu, പലവകൊണ്ടുവന്നു palavum konḍu van'n'u are instances where the augment-att- is absent.

11. പലവം palavum [the old plural] and പലതും paladum are both used by Eḷ in pronominal apposition: പലവംശാശ്രുതം palavum, ഫലമുലാഭികൾ പലവം, beside ഇശനനംപലതും paladu, ഒന്നിമിത്തങ്ങൾപലതു, etc. അക്കാദമി

12. എങ്ങൾ eṅṅal-as an inflexional base; forms like tam-m-e. tam-m-māl and tam-m-uḍe.

13. The employment of forms of tān and tām, as in the following:—തനിയേപരിവേഷനാചെയ്തു taniyē alone'; ഗോക്കൾതങ്ങളെ gōkkaḷ taṅṅalē 'the cows of their own accord'; തന്നുടതന്നുട tannuḍe tannuḍe; തങ്ങളാൽ തങ്ങളാൽ ആയസമുപാദം taṅṅalāḷ taṅṅalāḷ.

Verbs.

1. Some of the older verb-bases occurring in Eḷ but now gone out of use, are the following:—ōr-, tālug-, mālg-, ḷaikk-, uḷar-, kiḷaikk-, vāykk-, taykk-[used in also the present and in the future, as taykkun'n'u, taykkum-bō], mīl-, mutt-, n'ann-, ḷikk-, ūkk- [n'ir ūkk-], kiḷar-'to rise', polikk-'to extinguish', vāṇṇ [modern pin-vāṇṇ- to retreat], karayēr-, karēr- [no kayar-or kēr-in Eḷ], padukkk-, anb-, ēg-, irakk-, n'ikkol-.

2. Denominative verbs like തളിച്ചു garbiccu, എങ്കിച്ചു ēgiccu, ഉണ്ണിച്ചു uṣṇiccu, തന്ധിച്ചു gandhiccu, ഉഷ്ണക്കു വിധേയ uṣe-kkum vidhau, മോഹിച്ചു mōhiccu 'having become desperate' [a

meaning not current for this word today], *vyagriccu*, *kṛuddhiccu*, *bhalsiccu*, *n'amiccu*.

3. The bases *peḍu-kk-*¹, *vaḷar-kk-*, *amar-kk-*, [modern *peḍuttvaḷarṭt-* and *amarṭt-*] having their past with-*i*-, occur in Eḷ. *peḍukk* is almost exclusive in Eḷ, while *vaḷarṭt-* and *amarṭt-* alternate with *vaḷar-kk-* and *amar-kk-*.

ചവത്തുകു *cuvatt-* 'to make red' is common.

4. *ഉളർ* *uḷar*, *ഉളരായർ* *uḷar-āyār*, *ഉളനായർ* *uḷanāyār* are traditionary forms occurring in Eḷ.

5. അരു *arudu* in compounds with the infinitive participle as the first constituent, expresses in Eḷ both the older ideas of 'difficulty, impossibility' as in ചൈവരക്കി ചൊല്ലരുതേ *aiyavarakki cōḷḷarutē*, and the evolved idea of 'prohibition' [the modern meaning].

As verbal forms, അരുത്തു *arudān*'*n*'*u*, അരുത *arudāda* have the older meaning.

എന്നർ *en-nār* and എന്നൻ *enmān* are instances of forms of *en-* with the primary meaning 'to say'.

6. *Val-* occurs not only in *വല്ലൻ* *vallen*, *വല്ലത്തു* *vallān*, *വല്ലതെ* *vallāde*, *വല്ലത* *vallāda* [older meaning], *വല്ല* *valla* [modern meaning !], but also as *വല്ലുകയില്ല* *vallugayilla*.

ol- also appears as *olla*, *ollāda*, *ollādē*, *pollāda* *kaṛmmam* shows a form of the "defective" verb *pol-*.

7. The reinforcer-*kk-* is absent in forms like തോലാവണ്ണം *tōḷavannam*, ഇരിയർ *iriyār*, ബഹുമാനിയതേ *bahumāniyādē*, കേളാ *kēḷā*.

8. The use of personal endings for tense-forms in Eḷ's works is purely a tradition inherited from the past. These personal endings must have died out from the colloquial some centuries before the time of Eḷ.

It is to be noted that Eḷ avoids using personal endings for the second person plural,¹ the first person plural, third person

(1) Eḷ uses ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടുകൊണ്ടു generally to mean 'bind, as a captive' [El Ram, p. 217], but Bhag. has ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടു with the meaning 'having been in a hurry'.

(1) Rarely, second personal sing. forms are met with—കണ്ടയോ [Bh], മരിക്കുന്നയോ [Bh]

'irrational' plural. I have already pointed out that, while the Nirāṇam Paṇikkars employ personal endings for all these types, the personal endings for these types become more and more infrequent in the texts, till in E₁ they appear uniformly without personal terminations.

Nor does E₁ use the negative aorist tenses with personal endings like the Paṇikkars. Of course, forms like കൂടും kūdā, വരും varā, ചെയ്യും ceyyā, [employed for all persons!] do occur; but those with personal endings like അറിയും ariyōm, വരായ് vārāy, പോകേൻ pōgēn are conspicuous by their absence, except for the 'traditional' ചൊല്ലുവല്ലേൻ colla vallēn.

9. Among the past stems, pugaṇ'n'- beside pugaṇṇ-, magiṇ'n'- beside magiṇṇ- occur in E₁.

Other old past stems are kudaṇ'n'- [for modern kudaṇi], kiḷaṇ'n'- [for kiḷaṇi].

Past forms like മുടക്കിയാൻ muḍakkiyān, ചൊല്ലിയേൻ colliyēn are met with beside മുടക്കിനാൻ muḍakkinān, etc.

10. The ū- aorist occurs in E₁ with all its older syntactic significations.

നല്ല n'allū, എങ്ങ ennū, അവകൾ avaṅgalū, എവിടുത്തു evidattū also illustrate the dominance of the use of this particle during the period.

11. The older use of the infinitive participle with -a, illustrated by the following instances, was, in E₁'s period, perhaps tradition-derived:—കേൾക്കപ്പറഞ്ഞില kēḷkka-p-paraṇṇila, നിവിതലവിളിച്ചു n'ivira n'ilaviḷiccu, ചൊല്ലുവല്ലേൻ colla vallēn, വില്ലുകഴിയെക്കലച്ചു villu kuḷiye-k-kulaccu, വിരയെപ്പോയ viraye-p-pōy [beside വിരവോടുപോയ viravōḍū pōy, or വിരഞ്ഞുപോയ viraṇṇū pōy], വിരയെക്കൊടുക്കനി viraye-k-koḍukka n'i, അടയസ്സംഹരിച്ച aḍaya-s-samhariccu, കേഴത്തുടങ്ങിനാൻ kēḷa-t-tuḍaṇṇinār [beside common കേണതുടങ്ങി kēṇu tuḍaṇṇi], എല്ലാവരുംകാണുകെ ഇഴച്ചതും ellāvarum kāṅge iḷaccadam [Note peculiar use of കാണുക kāṅge instead of കാണെ kāṇe; such instances exist in the campus.]

12. കാണായ kāṇāy, കാണാവു kāṇāvū, കാണാവതല്ല kāṇāvadalla illustrate the use of the forms of the older compounds of the inf. participle with āg-.

13. Eḷ's use of ഒക്കെക്കും okkaikkum in Cint. shows how this old infinitive participle had already become "decolorised".

14. Relative participles with -ina, like tiṇṇina, vāṇṇiḍina, etc., are "traditionary" forms, the characteristic Mal. forms being with -iya.

15. āru, preceded by relative participles, occurs with the meanings of 'manner' and of 'time' in Eḷ.

16. The singular imperative of the type of ചെല്ലാതെ collāḍe is occasionally met with in Eḷ.

17. Optatives like ജയിപ്പതാക രാമൻ jayippūḍāgā rāman, അറിയുകയ് വരിക aṛiyumāyvariga.

18. The particle-vān expressive of 'doubt' as in ആരുവൻ āruvān, occurs in Cintāratnam.

19. The unique Mal. negatives with tense-affixes are all represented in Eḷ's works, though the more common type of negative forms also abounds.

ചെയ്യായുൻ ceyyāyun'n'u and kūḍāyun'n'u are pr. tense forms.

The past tense type is more numerously represented.

Though I have not been able to locate any future negative finites of the types of ചെയ്യാം ceyyāyum and ചെയ്യായ് ceyyāyvū in Eḷ's works, forms like കൂട്ടാക്കണ്ണതിൻ kūṭṭakkāyvadinnu based on future stems, exist.

Infinitive participles like തട്ടായ്വൻ taṭṭāyvān, ഓടായ്വൻ ōḍāyvān; plural imperatives like മിണ്ടായ്വൻ miṇḍāyvīn, ഉറയ്വൻ uṛāyvīn, collāyvīn; polite imperatives like ഓരായ് ōrayga; verbal nouns of the type of ചെയ്യായ് ceyyāyga; the forms ഇല്ലായ് illayāda, അല്ലായ്യിൽ allayāygil, ഇല്ലായ്ഞു are all met with in Eḷ's works.

20. Negative forms like അറിയാവതല്ലേയ് aṛiyāvadallēdum, നീക്കാവതല്ല n'ikkāvadalla, ആകുമിക്കാമല്ല ākrāmikkāmalla.

21. The occurrence of a form like കൊല്ലാതെകൊള്ളാത്തു kollāḍe kollāṇṇu [Eḷ. Bh, p. 379] shows how modern colloquial കൊല്ലാണ്ട kollāṇḍu is to be derived from kollāḍe koṇḍu

[the past participle of kollāde kol—of which the negative participle appears as kollāde kolḷāṇṇ-]. [Cf. instances from KG cited above].

22. കേട്ടോളം kēṭṭōḷam, കണ്ടോളം kaṇḍōḷam, മാഞ്ഞോളം ṁēṭṭōḷam; and കേട്ടുകൊണ്ടു kēṭṭa koṇḍu.

23. Appellatives like എങ്ങോൻ eṇṇōṇ.

24. മതിപോരൂ mādi pōrum,

എന്നി enni and എന്നിയെ en'n'iyē corresponding to ഇന്നി in'n'i, ഇൻനി ind'i and ഇൻനിയെ ind'iyē of the Paṇikkars.

A comparison of the morphological features of Eḷ's language with those of KG shows that, while there are many features in common, Eḷ's language evidences a few conspicuous differences or developments also:—

(i) the absence of uḷḷōṇē and of uḷḷōyē; the rarity of uḷḷōvē; the form pōkkal; the rarer use of eṇṇal-; the use of paladu besides palavu (in connection with plurals); the directives with-ōṭṭ, ēkk and iṅgalēkk.

(ii) arudu denoting 'prohibition'; fewer types of tense-forms showing personal terminations; the replacement of tāṇṇ-, vīṇṇ- by tāṇ-, vīṇ-; absence of conn- and of vīd-; the absence of forms like tan'n'ūdum, n'īṇan'n'ūdum, etc; the rarity of the terminative expletive ē (so frequent in KG); etc.

6. OLD MALAYĀLAM AND NEW MALAYĀLAM.

As already noted by me in the Introduction, the period of New Mal. may be said to begin from about the sixteenth century. The language of Eḷuttaṣṣan, however, continues to show some peculiarities of Old Mal., by the side of several characteristic features of New Mal.; and conversely, certain New Mal. features already appear in KG and in the 15th century campus. In spite of this overlapping, it is not difficult to demarcate those morphological developments which characteristically appertain to the New Mal. stage.

Inflexions.

1. The absence in New Mal. of postpositions like pōkkal; of ida, uḷ; of koṇḍu and toṭṭu with a second case force; of uḷḷōyē and uḷḷōvē; of eḍō in connection with women (except regionally).

2. The practice, current in the *manipravāḷa* period, of using *samskr̥tīkṛta bhāṣā* i.e., native words with Sanskrit endings, practically disappeared in the period of the campus; but echoes of the older practice still remained in a few instances cited above in *Candr.* This practice disappeared in the New Mal. period.

3. The practice of introducing syntactic concord between *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya*, as in the campus, was also a temporary aberration under Sanskrit influence. This generally disappeared in the New Mal. period, though *Uṇṇāyi* with his extraordinary attachment to Sanskrit has sometimes used such constructions in *Nal. Āṭṭ*.

4. Similarly, imitations of Sanskrit "case"-concord, as in ഗ്രാമത്തെ ആവശിക്കുന്നവർ *grāmatte āvasikkund'ōn* രാജ്യത്തെ അധി വശിച്ചു *rājyatte adhivasiccu* [already condemned by the commentary on *Lil.* II, II, comm.], ആപത്തികൾ നിന്നു ഭയപ്പെട്ടു *āpat-tingal n'in'n'u bhaya-ppetṭu* have also fallen into disuse.

5. The directives of the types of *viṭṭilēkku* and *kiḷṭṭu* became permanently fixed in New Mal. The directives with *n'ōkki*, *āmmāru*, *āykkonḍu* are out of vogue today.

6. The use of phrasal units of the type of കാട്ടിലേ ആന *kāṭṭile āna* was extended to instances like അങ്ങനത്തെ *aṅṅanatt ē* ഉച്ചക്കേരത്തേ *uccakkēṭṭē*, വന്നാലത്തേക്കുള്ള *van'n'alattē-k-kāryam*, etc.

7. *eṇṇal* the "oblique" form disappeared, except in certain "communal" colloquials.

8. *tām* is represented in New Mal. commonly only in *tamil*, while *taniyē* and *tānē* are on the road to ruin; *tān* *tānd'e*, *tand'e* *tand'e*, *taṇṇaḷkku* *taṇṇaḷkku* and similar collocations with *taṇṇaḷ*, and *taṇṇaḷ-ē* 'alone' have all disappeared.

9. *ava* and *iva* in New Mal. are used as such without the *cāriyai* or augment-at't-in "oblique" inflexions.

1. A few instances of these may be cited here:—Native nouns with Sanskrit endings, like കൊങ്കയം, ഉണ്ണുകക്ക, [*Lil.*, cit., 2, 7], മടയീനം [US]; native verbs with Sanskrit verb-endings like പിന്നിടേറ്റം [US], കേരത്തി [L, cit., 2, 17], വേക്കംചെട്ടെ [ib.] പുകിരെ, മമണിരൊത്ത ലിരെ [ib.]

Together with this, *avatt'a*, *avatt'agaḷ*, *avatt'innal* are used in regional colloquials as nominatives used with reference to inanimate objects.

10. *paladu* and *ciladu* have become quite common in connection with plurals.

Verbs.

1. Many old verb-bases gradually disappeared. Bases like *vīl-kk-*, *peḍu-kk-*, *vaḷar-kk-*, *tāḷ-kk-* were gradually ousted in New Mal. by *vīl-tt-*, *peḍutt-*, etc.

2. *por-* has given place to *porud-* [past stem *porud-i-*]; *karēṛ-* has been replaced by *kayar-*; *arudu* is generally used with the signification of 'prohibition'; *en-* 'to say' is no longer used with the original meaning 'to say or speak'; *val* is retained only in *valla* 'any', *vallāṭṭa* [generalised meaning], *vallāḍē* and *vallāṇḍu*; *uḷ-* is represented only by *uṇḍu*, *uḷḷu*, *uḷḷā*, *uḷḷadu*, etc.

3. Personal endings of tense-forms are pure "archaisms" in New Mal.

4. While *-in'n'-* and *-un'n'-* existed in Old Mal. as the present tense affix, *-un'n'-* became exclusive in New Mal.

5. *eḷun'in'n'-* is replaced by *eḷun'ēṭṭ-*, and *tāṇṇ*, *vīṇṇ-*, by *tāṇ-*, *vīṇ-*; *viṣi-* and *cāri-* are exclusive past stems of *viṣ-* and *cār-*.

6. The *-um* future finites were not quite numerous in Old Mal. texts for the 1st and the 2nd persons [for which, texts show more numerous instances with personal endings like *nān varuvan*, *n'i varuvāy*, etc.]. In New Mal. literature, *nān varum*, *n'i varum*, *avar varum* become quite common.

7. The *ū-* "aorist" becomes gradually restricted to a few syntactic types.

8. The infinitive participle with *-a* becomes limited to the contexts already mentioned in Chap. IV, § 7 above.

9. The participle followed by *āṛu*, signifying "manner" exists only in instances like *ceyyumāṛu* [*ceyyāṛu*], *kāṇumāṛu*; the type with *āṛē*, denoting 'time' persists today in regional colloquials.

10. Third personal optatives of the type of *avan varuga* no longer exist.

11. The conditional with *-gil* continued to exist in literature; but in the colloquial it was gradually displaced by the conditional of the *ceyd-āl* type; today, the latter alone occurs in the colloquial.

12. The tense-type *van'n'ēnē* appears in New Mal.

13. Among the negative verb-forms (conjugated with tense affixes or verbal endings), only the past stem and the verbal noun are retained in the colloquials.

14. The neg. rel. participle of the *varāda* type appears as *varāta* in New Mal.

15. The negative types *ceyyun'n ōnalla*, *pulambun'n'ūdalla*; and *pugaḷttāmalla*, *collāvalla* have all disappeared.

16. *Varallē* type replaces the prohibitive *varōḷlā*.

17. *Ceyyarudu* is exclusively a prohibitive; *ceydu kūḍā* and *ceyya vayyā* have developed "prohibitive" meanings beside the older significations.

Ceyyān mēlā crops up in New Mal. literature.

CHAPTER VII.—AFFILIATIONS.

1. MAL. AND TAM.

The question of fixing the degree of the linguistic relationship of Malayālam to the other Dravidian speeches of South India has to be approached with reference to two aspects:— (a) how far Malayālam is much nearer related to Tamil than to any other south Dravidian speech; and (b) if Malayālam is found to be much more intimately allied to Tamil than to any other south Dravidian speech, to which particular stage of Tamil it shows the maximum resemblance.

The criteria evolved by modern linguistics for estimating the degrees of kinship among languages cannot be better stated than in the words of the *doyen* among modern French linguists, Prof. Antoine Meillet (*Le probleme de la parente des langues*, pp. 88, 84):—"Linguistic kinship is evident wherever the phonetic and the grammatical systems present exact resemblances, wherever regular correspondences permit of the recognition of the unity of the origin of these features, and wherever the grammatical forms could be traced to a common original starting point." "Vocabulary is the domain of loans. There is no word in a given language of which we cannot say *a priori* that it has not been borrowed from a foreign speech. There is no language, the vocabulary of which does not include borrowings. It is, therefore, more than anything else by the persistence of the phonetic and the grammatical systems that the "kinship of languages" expresses itself."

Resemblances in phonetics (including phonology) and in grammar, therefore, form the essential criteria of linguistic kinship. Vocubularial parallelisms of course are not entirely negligible, but they are significant only when the question of borrowings has been fully tackled.

The application of these fundamental tests reveals beyond doubt that Malayālam is far more intimately allied to Tam. than to any other Dr. speech.

I shall mention below some of the essential features of the Tamil-Malayālam group, that mark it off from other Dr. speeches:—

Phonetics and Phonology:— (i) the alveolar plosives and the sandhi contexts in which they occur; (ii) the persistence of

l and r; (iii) the difference between dental n' and alveolar n; (iv) the regular sonatisation of intervocalic surds; (v) the uniform sonatisation of surds and affricates in the consonant groups with nasals; (vi) the development of the affricate c from k; (vii) the palatalisation of k in internal positions; (viii) external sandhi of different types, particularly in compounds; (ix) many internal sandhi changes.

Morphology:—(i) Many suffixes associated with gender; (ii) plural formations with mār; (iii) "casal" terminations, augments and many postpositions; (iv) verb-bases with the kārta affix; (v) transitive bases; (vi) Present tense ending; (vii) formation of past stems; (viii) Inf. participles with vān, etc; (ix) many imperatives; (x) negative tenses and forms.

While I have pointed out above the parallelisms, I may also observe here that there is not one single native feature of Malayalam phonetics or Malayalam morphology which can be shown to be nearer related to any Dravidian speech than to Tamil.

2. FEATURES OF MAL. MORPHOLOGY WHICH CAN BE HISTORICALLY DERIVED FROM A STAGE CORRESPONDING TO MIDDLE TAM.

1. Among the nominal inflexions, the instrumental āl, the sing. genitive -nd'e, the loc. -il, and -kal; the use of the plural-kal for 'rationals' as well as for 'irrationals' and of the double plurals with -mār-gal; postpositions like koṇḍu, kuṛiccu, vare, pakkal, etc., the comparisonal -il and kāṭṭil.

2. The pronouns n'innal [<n'im-kal], nānnal [cf. n'āmgal], eñnal [<eñgal], avargal; and the use of ava in the "oblique" forms without the augment.

3. Verb-bases of the type of peḍu-kk- beside peḍutt-; bases like n'irutt-, irutt- [absent in Old Tam.]; the causative endings [from Middle Tam. vi type]; the Old Mal. personal endings ān, ār, ēn, ōm, āy; the present tense -in'n-, -un'n'- [from Middle Tamil -g-ind']; the conditionals with -il; the concessives with -ānum, -ēnum, -ēlum; the use of the opt. ending -ga for the first and the second persons; the employment of the infinitive participles with -vān, -ppān; and many negative verb-forms.

Table showing the direct affinities of Mal. to Middle Tamil.

	1	2	3	4	Mal.
I. 3rd case affix	ān	ān	ān	ān	
4th case	iṭ-ku [in-ku]	Early Middle Tam. in-u-kk	in-u-or -innu		
5th case	in	-il-n' inṛ-	il-n' in' n' u		
6th case	[-adu, etc.]	uḍai	uḍe, -(n)d'e		
7th case	[kaṇ, kāl, etc.]	il	il		
Postpositions	[loose]	[koṇḍu, pakkal, etc., freely used]	[Postpositions freely used]		
First person pl. pronoun	n'āṁ	n'āṁ-kal;	nāṁṇal, nāṁṇal and nammal		
Second person pl. pronoun	n'im	n'im-gal	n'im-gal		
Third person pl. pronoun epicene.	avar	avargal	avargal		
Do do	avai	avaigal	avagal		
'irrational'.					
Verb-bases like paḍuttu-, irutt-, n'irutt-.	[very rare]	[frequent]			[common,

	Old Tam. 2	Middle Tam. 3	Mal. 4
Causatives with vi, bi, ppi.			
Personal terminations for tense-finites.	[absent] usually (an)en, (-an)- ai, (an)an, (an)- em, (an)ir, an ru	[common] -ēn, āy, ān, ōm, ār, ar.	[common] Only Middle Tam. end- ings wherever used in Old Mal.
Present tense with-g-ind'.	[absent]	[common]	in'n', -un'n'
Future-aorist with-um.	[only for some forms of 3rd person]	[As in Old Tam.]	[Extended to all persons]
Optatives.	[For third person, generally speaking]	[For all persons]	[For all persons]
Infinitive participle with - vān, -bān, -ppān.	[absent]	[common]	vān, mān, ppān
Negative tense- forms with tense- affixes.	[absent]	[absent as such]	vārā-y-ind', etc., formed on the popu- lar neg. base vārā
Negative verb- forms on the stem-type ceyyād'.	[present]	[present]	[present]
Negatives like 'ceyd-il-en, etc.	[rare]	[common]	ceydilla, etc.

3. CHIEF UNIQUE FEATURES OF MALAYALAM MORPHOLOGY.

The following are unique in Mal. in so much as they have neither direct counterparts nor direct "ancestral" forms in Middle or (except in (i) below) in Old Tamil.

(i) *n'in-* the Mal. inflexional base of the second person sing. is certainly an archaism in the west coast speech.

(ii) The use of *n'innal* as an "oblique" form is unique in the west coast.

(iii) The aoristic future tense-forms with *u*.

(iv) The type *ceyyām*, as distinguished from Middle Tamil type *ceyyalām*.

(v) The plural [second person] imperative type *ceyvin*, *koḍuppin*, as distinct from the Tamil *-min*.

The *ceyyām*-type is apparently a future form with *-um* of the compounded base-type *ceyy-āg*, common in Old Mal.

As for the "aoristic" tense with *u*, I have shown above [Chap. IV § 6] that it was probably formed in Mal. from modifications of forms which it shared with Tamil.

n'in-, the *ceyyām* type and the imperatives of the type of *ceyvin*, *koḍuppin* may have been archaic in Mal.; but it may be noted that no non-Tamil speech affords more direct representatives or nearer relatives than Tamil.

4. AFFILIATIONS.

As already pointed out § 2 above, it is with Early Middle Tamil that Malayalam is most intimately related.

I have been led to stress the question of affiliations so much here because of the view prevailing among some scholars in Malabar, that in point of linguistic kinship, Malayalam stands in relation to Tamil on as much a footing of equality as Kannaḍa or even Telugu.

Those who maintain that "Mal. is as much independent of Tamil as Kannaḍa or Telugu" seek support for their view in the following postulates of theirs. It is necessary to examine them here in some little detail in view of the vogue obtaining for them among some Malayalam scholars; but I may say at once that some of these postulates (see below for discussion) are wholly untenable, while others are not capable of being satisfactorily

proved or supported, and further that even if it happens that some of these postulates could in the future be supported by data which are not now available, one has to remember that these features (appearing as archaisms) are after all so few that they cannot touch anything more than the outermost fringe of the problem of affinities; for, as I have already pointed out above, correspondences and derivative relationships between Mal. and a stage of speech answering to Early Middle Tamil are so numerous and so fundamental that there would be no scientific warrant for any view other than that Mal. is most intimately allied to a stage of speech¹ corresponding to Early Middle Tamil, with a few archaisms peculiar to the west coast.

I now proceed to discuss the postulates referred to above.

1. The suggestion is made that the final -a of Mal. nouns (and of a few other words), far from having been derived from the corresponding -ai of Tamil, represents the direct development of an original palatal-a in view of (i) the existence of -a in Telugu, corresponding to Mal. -a and Tam.-ai, as in Tel. *tala* 'head', *ora* 'sheath', *koṛa* 'defect' etc.; (ii) *sūtra* 284 of *Tolkāppiyam* *Eluttu*, which states that the -ai of *panai*, *āvirai* is 'dropped' in *samāsa* sandhi, as in *panaṅgāy*, *āviraṅgāy*,—a statement that is alleged to imply the fact that the original forms of these words may have been *pana*, etc., which in Tamil later developed into *panai*, etc.; and (iii) the adaptation by Tam. of some Sanskrit words (having final-a) with final-ai, as in Tam. *śītai*, etc.

Further support for this postulate is sought from the fact that Mal. *illa*, *ava*, *iva* corresponding to Tam. *illai*, *avai*, *ivai* [all

1. The real position may have been this. In the earliest centuries of the Christian era the west coast speech and the language that was used in post-Śaṅgam texts (i. e. Early Middle Tam.) were fundamentally alike, with of course a few regional differences. This speech (which was later employed in literature by the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite bhaktas) may have already been developed in the colloquial of the masses some time about the beginning of the Christian era. Old Tamil which continued to be employed in the late Śaṅgam texts may have by this time become a *kunstsprache*. In the east coast, the living speech of the masses was used in the works of the Śaivite and the Vaiṣṇavite saints after about the 5th century A. D. In the west coast, about this period the colloquial was perhaps gradually evolving characteristic Mal. features.

of which are already met with in the earliest Tam. texts contain -a, the original plural ending, which in Tam. may have developed into -ai in these words. Again, Tolkāppiyam Eḷuttu, sūtra 373, which states that il takes -ai in samāsa sandhi [as in illai-k-korṭan] and the existence of illa in Kannaḍa are also pressed in support of the view.

It was Caldwell [Comp. Gr., p. 133] who first suggested that final-a of Mal. in these contexts may have been older than the corresponding Tam. -ai; but the only basis on which Caldwell rested his view was that Mal. and Tel. had a final a corresponding to Tam. ai. The above arguments have been advanced by later scholars. In my opinion, no one of these arguments can amount to a satisfactory proof for the position that Mal. -a was not evolved from Middle Tam. -ai as suggested by the inscriptional and literary instances and by general principles of phonetic change.

(i) There is nothing to disprove the suggestion that Tel. -a in tala, oṛa, etc., may not itself have been derived from an older -ai.

(ii) The Tol. Eḷuttu sūtra about the Tam. compound panaṅgāy offers little evidentiary value for the suggestion that pana was older than panai; for, in the first place, the sūtra states that -ai is elided [ai-y-en-iṛudi keḍumē] and, secondly, panaṅgāy may have been a reduced form of older panai-y-in-gāy [cf. the alternative ā-n- and ā-v-in, the inflexional stems of 'cow', according to TE, 121.]

(iii) Tam. adaptations like sīdai from Sanskrit sītā need not necessarily have involved a Tamil rule applicable to native forms like talai, panai. The shapes which adaptations from foreign languages assume in a language may very well be regulated by the analogy of already existing forms and can by no means always be regarded as pointing to an inflexible principle of phonetic change rooted in the speech. The forms with -ai, already existing in Tam., may have influenced the structure of these adaptations from Sanskrit.

(iv) illa, as used in Mal., corresponds to illai of Tamil, employed as a kuṛippu vinai particle for all genders, numbers and persons. Tam. has ila which is the regular third person

“neuter” plural of the kuṟippuvinaṭ base il. Even granting that illai of Tam. is connected in some way with ila, there is very little proof for us to say that Mal. illa may not have been derived from illai, the negative particle, used for all genders, numbers and persons. Tam. illai may itself have been an independent formation from il, and it may not have been *directly* connected with the plural third person ila.

(v) As for ava, iva, it may be granted that the plural particle -a is of course appropriate in the terminal position here. But the plural particle is in Tamil always dorsal in tonality, as is evidenced by the back glide -v- appearing after pala and cila before words with initial vowels in syntactic sandhi positions, while Mal. ava, iva have a final -a which should originally have been palatal in tonality in view of the fact that the front glide-y- alone appears after it. This leads me to doubt the validity of the suggestion that -a of Mal. ava, iva is (as it at present stands) the plural particle -a. On the other hand, the fact that the palatal or front glide alone is associated with Mal. ava, iva, [cf. the inflexional forms avayude, avayittil] perhaps points to their being immediately related to, and derived from, a stage corresponding to Middle Tam. avai, ivai.

None of the facts adduced in support of the view that Mal. -a is not directly connected with the corresponding Tam. -ai, can satisfactorily help this theory.

2. It is argued that the Mal. second case ending e is derived from an older palatal -a [of what one may postulate as ‘parent Dravidian’], from which Tam. ai may have been separately derived, and that therefore the common view [approved by Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam] that the Mal. second case ending -e is derived from Tam. -ai [just as colloquial Tam. has -e as a derivative of literary Tam. -ai] is not valid.

Support for this position is sought from the -sūtra of Tolkaṭṭiyam, Colladigāram, 108¹, which states that in poetry the

1. TC, 108, states:—ക, കെ, ആൻ എന്ന വരൾ ഇരതി അല്ലെട്ടു ചിറണം ചെയ്യുകൾ. Here, the -a is postulated not only in connection with ai but also with the dative ku and the instrumental ആൻ also, so that these appear in poetry as -a (Acc.), -ka (Dat.) and ആൻ (Instr.). The first two appear, according to another sūtra, only in connection with rationals. There is nothing in all this to justify the view that -a was the original Acc. ending and ai secondary.

second case ending appears as -a instead of as -ai. It is argued that since poetry may preserve archaic forms, -a as the second case ending may be older than -ai.

The suggestion may have something in it; and one may be tempted to connect, in pursuance of this suggestion, the older -a of Tam.-Mal. with the -a that appears in Old Kannaḍa as a rare accusative ending. Some scholars have even gone further into the dark and suggested that this -a may have been a softened form of -an appearing as the accusative ending in Telugu, Kannaḍa, Gōṇḍi, Kūi, Kuṟukh and Karachi Brāhūī. But these suggestions and ingenious adventures into the unknown can never amount to proofs.

Be this as it may, there is as yet no fact or datum available, to prove conclusively what is suggested by the inscriptions and texts, and supported by phonetic analogy [cf. Mal. paṇḍe, vare, maṭṭe, n'āle with Tam. paṇḍai, varai, maṭṭai n'ālai], viz. that Mal. acc. -e is derived from Tam. -ai.

3. The preservation of the distinction between dental n' and alveolar n, of which so much is made by some scholars to prove what they describe as the 'antiquity' of Mal., is not of much substance when one remembers that the distinction is clearly pointed out in the old Tamil grammars and preserved in the Tamil alphabet. Dental n' perhaps disappeared from colloquial Tamil pronunciation at a comparatively late stage after Mal. had branched off from Middle Tam.

4. Similarly, the fact that Mal. gives the long alveolar plosive ṛṛ the pure alveolar value both in the colloquial and in the literary speech, while modern Tam. evaluates it as ṛṛr, can be no proof at all for the view that 'Mal. is linguistically as much independent of Tam. as Kannaḍa or Telugu'. The incorporation of r in ṛṛr is perhaps a comparatively late South Indian peculiarity, not met with in Jaffna Tam. where ṛṛ is 'correctly' evaluated as ṛṛ. [See my HAP].

5. The absence of personal endings for tense-forms in Mal. is regarded by some as a relic of "parent Dravidian" which therefore, according to these scholars, confers upon Mal. an

individuality all its own. But, as I have already pointed out above, all the data so far available furnish no positive proof or support for the view that the absence of personal endings in tense-forms was characteristic of the older stages.

On the whole, except for a very few archaisms like the inflexional n'in-, the plural imperatives with vin, ppin, and perhaps constructions like ceyyām and ceyyarudu, the features of Mal. morphology are directly related to, or immediately derivable from, a stage of speech corresponding to what may now be described as Early Middle Tamil.



BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Uṇṇuṇ'ṛlisandeṣam [ed. by A. K. Pisarodi]	US
Līlātilakam [do]	J.
Kaṇṇaṣṣa Rāmāyṇam	KR.
Bāla kāṇḍam [New Standard Era series]	
Āraṇya [ed. by the Madras University]	
Kiṣkindhā [do]	
Sundara [ed. by Uḷḷūr]	
Uttara [ed. by Pillay]	
Kaṇṇaṣṣa Bhāratam, Part I [Sri Mūlam Gr. series].	KBhr.
„ Bhāgavatam [do]	KBhāg.
Niraṇam Bhagavālgīta [ed. by Uḷḷūr]	BhG.
Sivarātri Māhātmyam [„]	ŚM.
Rāmākathappāṭṭu [„]	R.
Kṛṣṇagāthā [Maṅgaḷodayam edition]	KG.
Ceruṣṣeri Bhāratam [University selections]	CBh.
Rāmācaritam [ed. by Uḷḷūr; ed. by the University]	RC
Rāmāyaṇam campu	Rām. camp.
Rāvaṇodbhavam	} [ed. by the Cochin Mal. Improvement Committee]
Sugrīvasakhyam	
Vicchinābhīṣekam	
Aṅgulīyāṅgam	
Rāmāvatāram	} [Sri Mūlam Granthāvali series]
Tāḍakāvadham	
Abalyāmokṣam	
Sītāsvayanivaram	
Paraśurāma vijayam	
Lankāpravēṣam, etc.	
Āraṇya and Kiṣkindhā	[do.]
Kalyāṇasaugandhikam campu [Sri Mūlam Gr.]	Kaly.
Rāvaṇavijayam and Gajēndramōkṣam—campu	
[തിരുവനന്തപുരം]	Rāv.
Rājaraṭnāvalīyam campu [Maṅgaḷodayam edition]	Rāj.
Kirātam campu [Bhāratavilāsam ed.]	K
Naiṣadham campu [Prāñjali edition]	Naiṣ.
Kōḍiya Viraham	KV

Bhāgavatam Bhāṣā (gadyam) Vols. I and II [Sri Mūlam Gr. series]	BhBh
Bhāgavatam—a few skandhas other than daśama in Prācīna Grantha Mālā [ed. by H. H. Appan Tampurān]	Pr Gr. Bh
Pārvatīpānigrahaṇam [Sri Mūlam Gr. series]	Pārv.
Candrōtsavam [ed. by K. S. Menon]	Candr.
Eḷuttaṣṣan's Bhāratam [Reddiar's edition]	Eḷ Bh.
„ Rāmāyaṇam [„]	Eḷ Rām.
„ Cintāratnam	Cint.
„ Kaivalyaṇ'avan'itam	Kaivaly
„ Harin'āmakīrttanam	Harin'ām
Bhāgavatam Kiḷippāṭṭu [Reddiar's edn.]	Bhāg.
Pūṇḍānam's Jñānappāna and Santānagopālam [Maṅgaḷōdayam]	Pāṭṭ.
Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇam [Bhāratavilāsam].	VR
Mōkṣadāyakam [Sri Mūlam Gr.]	Mōkṣ
Bhīṣmōpadeśam	Bhīṣm.
Kirātārjjunīyam [New standard Era series] Kirāt.	Kiḷipp.
Rukmāṅgadacaritam gātha [„]	Rukm.
Nāgānandam Kiḷippāṭṭu [„]	Nāg.
Ekādaśi māhātmyam I and II [„]	Ēkād.
Bharatavākyam [Sri Mūl. Gr.]	Bharat.
Praiṣam [„]	Praiṣ.
Kōṭṭārakkara Tamburān's Āṭṭakkathagaḷ	Kōṭṭar. Āṭṭ.
Kōṭṭayattu Tamburān's Āṭṭakkathagaḷ	Kōṭṭ. Āṭṭ.
Cāṇakya Sūtram [Cochin Mal. Improvement Committee]	Cāṇakky.
Kuñjan's Tuḷḷakkathagaḷ [Maṅgaḷōdayam]	Tuḷḷ
Sabhāpṛavēśam പൊയൽ ഉള്ളത്	Sabhā
Naḷacaritam Kiḷippāṭṭu	Naḷ. Kiḷipp.
Padin'ālu vṛttam [University selections]	Padin'āl.
Irupattin'ālu vṛttam Bhāgavatam, [Cochin Mal. Improvement Committee]	Irupatt. Bhāg
Viṣṇugīta hamsappāṭṭu [Sri Mūlam Gr.]	Viṣṇ.
Girijākalyāṇam [„]	Girij.
Uṇṇāyi's Naḷacaritam Āṭṭakkatha [University selections]	Naḷ. Āṭṭ.

Rāmapurattu Vāriar's Kucēlavṛttam Vanjippaṭṭu	
[ed. by Unṇi]	Kucēl. Vanji.
Kallēṅguḷaṇṇare Vāriar's Vēṭala caritam [Cochin	
Mal. Impr. Committee]	Vēṭal.
Kēraḷpatti [Basel Mission Press]	KU
„ [Bhāratavilāsam Press]	KUḃ
Vaḍakkān Paṭṭu [Reddiar's edition]	VP
Do [Madras University]	VPm
Malayāḷattilē Paḷaya Pāṭṭugaḷ	
[ed. by C. P. G. Pillay]	Paḷ. Pāṭṭ
Pāṭṭugaḷ—Vols. I and II.—[Maṅgaḷōdayam edn.]	Pāṭṭ
Folk-songs [ed. by K. P. Karuppan]	Folks.
Malayāḷam Proverbs [Vidyāvilāsa Press edn.]	MP
Proverbs in Mal. [compiled by P. Paul]	Proverbs
Āṭṭakkathas (in one volume)	Āṭṭ
Travancore Archaeological Series	TAS
[Vols. I to VII]	
Cochin Archaeological Reports	CAR
[Vols. I to VII]	
Keraḷa Society Papers	KSP
[Series 1 to 7]	
Journal of the Keraḷa Academy	JKA
[Vols. I to III]	
Maṅgaḷōdayam [Journal]	M
Prācīna Grantha Mālā [ed. by Prince Appan	
Tampurān]	Pr Gr
Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam [B. V. Book Depot]	KP
Malayāḷam Grammar by Gundert [Basel	
Mission Press]	

TAMIL.

Tolkāppiyam Eḷuttu [Śaiva Siddhānta edn.]	TE
„ Col. [„]	TC
Viracōḷiyam [ed. by Damodara Mudaliar]	V
Nannūḷ [ed. by Sāminādayyar]	N
Ilakkāṇa Viḷakkam [ed. by Damodara Mudaliar]	IV
Puraṇānūṟu [ed. by Sāminādayyar]	PN

Kamba Rāmāyaṇam [University selections]	Kamb. R.
Tēvāram	T
Hymns of Tam. Śaivite Saints [Heritage of India series]	HTS
South Indian Inscriptions [Govt. of India]	SII
Nammāḷvar's Tiruvāymoḷi [Vaiṣṇava Publishing House]	NTM
Popes Gr. of the Tamil language.	

KANNADA.

Śabdamaṇidarpaṇi [ed. by F. Kittel]	SM
Grammar of Kannaḍa [by F. Kittel]	

MY OWN PAPERS.

Morphology of the Old Tam. Verb ["Anthropos"]	MOTV
History of the Tamil-Mal. Alveolar Plosive ["Journal of the Madras University"]	HAP
Dravidic Sandhi ["Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society"]	DS
Grammar in Līṭātilakam ["Bull. of the Rāma Varma Research Institute", 1934]	GL

KEY TO THE ABBREVIATIONS OF THE NAMES OF MAL. WORKS.

Bhāg	[ഭാഗവതം കിളിപ്പാട്ട്-ഭഗവദ്ഗീതം വരെ—Bhāgavataṁ till Daśama]	
Bhāg. Daś	[ഭാഗവതം ഭാഗം]	
Bak.	[വടക്കൻ ബികാഡം-ആട്ടക്കഥ Baka Vadham]	
Bh Bh	[ഭാഗവതം ഭാഷാ gadyam]	Bhāgavatam bhāṣā
Bharat.	[ഭാരതവാക്യം]	Bharatavākyaṁ]
BhG.	[ഭഗവൽഗീതപ്പാട്ട്]	Bhagavatgītappāṭṭu]
Bhīṣm.	[ഭീഷ്മോപദേശം]	Bhīṣmōpadēśam]
CAR	[Cochin Archaeological Reports]	
Cāṇakky.	[ചാണക്യസൂത്രം]	Cāṇakkyā Sūtram]
Candr.	[ചന്ദ്രോത്സവം]	Candrotsavam]
CBh	[ചെറുശ്ശേരി ഭാരതം]	Ceruśṣēri Bhāratam]
Cint.	[ചിന്താരത്നം]	Cintāratnam]
EḷBh	[മഹാഭാരതം കിളിപ്പാട്ട്]	Eḷuttaśṣan's Bhāratam]
EḷRām.	[അല്പാത്മരമായണം കിളിപ്പാട്ട്]	Eḷuttaśṣan's Rāmāyaṇam]
Ēkād.	[ഏകാദശിമഹാത്മ്യം]	
Folks.	[Malayāḷam Folk-songs compiled by K. P. Karuppan]	
Girij.	[ഗിരീജാകല്യാണം]	Unṇāyi's Girijākalyāṇam]
Hari.	[ഹരിനാമകീർത്തനം]	Harin'āmakīrttanam]
Irupatt.	[ഇരുപത്തിനാലുവൃത്തം രാമായണം]	Irupattinālu vṛttam]
Rām.		Rāmāyaṇam]
Irupatt.	[ഇരുപത്തിനാലുവൃത്തം ഭാഗവതം]	Irupattinālu vṛttam]
Bhāg.		Bhāgavatam]
JKA	[സംഹിതപുരീഷത്തു് കേരളമാസിക]	Journal of the Kerala Academy]
Kirāt. camp.	[കിരതം പ്രബന്ധം]	Kirātam campu]
Kaivaly.	[കൈവല്യ നവനീതം]	Kaivalyaṇavaritāṁ]

Kaly.	[കല്യാണസൗതന്ധികം ചമ്പു Kalyāṇasaugandhi- kam campu]
Kaly. Āṭṭ.	[വടക്കൻ കല്യാണസൗതന്ധികം Vadakkan Kalyāṇa ആട്ടക്കഥ Saugandhikam Āṭṭakkatha]
KBhr	[കണ്ണങ്ങഭാരതം Kaṇṇaṣṣa Bhāratam]
KBhāg.	[കണ്ണങ്ങഭാരതം]
Kirāt.	[കിരാതാജ്ജനിയം കിച്ചിപ്പാട്ട് Kirātārjjunīyam Kiḷippāṭṭu]
KG	[കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ Kṛṣṇa gātha]
KP	[കേരളപാണിനിയം Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam]
KR	[കണ്ണങ്ങ രാമായണം Kaṇṇaṣṣa Rāmāyaṇam]
KSP	[Kerala Society Papers]
KU	[കേരളോല്പത്തി Keraḷōlpatṭi]
Kuc. Vanji	[കുചേലവൃത്തം വഞ്ചിപ്പാട്ട് Kucēlavṛttam Vanjippāṭṭu]
KV	[കൊട്ടിയവിരഹം ചമ്പു Koḍiyaviraham campu]
Lil.	[ലീലാതിലകം Līlātilakam]
Maṅg.	[മംഗളോദയം മംഗിക Maṅgaḷōdayam]
Mōkṣ.	[മോക്ഷദായകം Mōkṣadāyakam]
MP	[മലയാളത്തിലെ പഴഞ്ചൊല്ലുകൾ Malayāḷam Proverbs Vidyāvilāsam edition]
Naiṣ. camp.	[നൈഷധം ചമ്പു Naiṣadham campu]
Nāg.	[നാഗാനന്ദം കിച്ചിപ്പാട്ട് Nāgānandam]
Naḷ. Āṭṭ.	[നളചരിതം ആട്ടക്കഥ Naḷacaritam Āṭṭakkatha]
Paḍap.	[പടപ്പാട്ട് Paḍāppāṭṭu]
Pārv.	[പാർവ്വതി പാണിഗ്രഹണം Pārvatīpāṇigrahaṇam]
Pāṭṭ.	[പാട്ടുകൾ Pāṭṭuḷ—compiled by Yogakṣemam Publishing Co.]
Paḷ. Pāṭṭ.	[മലയാളത്തിലെ പഴയ Paḷaya പാട്ടുകൾ Pāṭṭuḷ edited by C. P. G. Pillay]
Praiṣ.	[പ്രൈഷം Praiṣam—Śrī Mūlam Gr.]
Proverbs	[Proverbs in Mal., compiled by P. Paul]
Pr. Gr.	[പ്രാചീന ഗ്രന്ഥമാല Prācīna Grantha Māla]
PT	[പഞ്ചതന്ത്രം Pancatantram]
R	[രാമകഥപ്പാട്ട് Rāmakathappāṭṭu]
Rāj.	[രാജരാത്നാവലിയം ചമ്പു Rajaratnāvaliyam campu]

Rām. camp.	[രാമായണം ചമ്പു	Rāmāyaṇam campu]
Rāv.	[രാവണവിജയം ചമ്പു	Rāvaṇa Vijayam campu]
RC.	[രാമചരിതം	Rāma caritam]
Rugm.	[രുഗ്മതമചരിതം താമ	Rugmāṅgadacaritam]
Sabhā	[സഭാപ്രവേശം—പറയൽ തുളു]	
ŚM	[പണിക്കരുടെ തീവരാത്രീ	Niraṇam Sivarātri
	മാഹാത്മ്യം	Māhātmyam]
TAS	[Travancore Archaeological Series]	
Tuḷl	[നമ്പ്യാരുടെ തുളു ലുകൾ: ഒട്ടുതുളു ലുകൾ, പറയതുളു ലുകൾ and തീതങ്കുതുളു ലുകൾ]	
Vet	[വേതള ചരിതം	Vetāḷa caritam]
Viṣṇu.	[വിഷ്ണുഗീത-മംസപ്പാട്ട്]	
VP	[വടക്കൻ പാട്ടുകൾ	Vaḍakkan Pāṭṭugal]
VPm	[do. Madras University edition, Vol. I]	
VR	[വർത്തികി രാമായണം	Keraḷa Varma's Vālmiki
		Rāmāyaṇam]





